UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ART AND ETHNICITY: THE EXPRESSION OF UKRAINIAN IDENTITY THROUGH ART OBJECTS DISPLAYED IN THE HOME

by ANNA KURANICHEVA ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS in UKRAINIAN FOLKLORE

DEPARTMENT OF MODERN LANGUAGES AND CULTURAL STUDIES

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis *entitled Art and Ethnicity: the Expression of Ukrainian Identity through Art Objects Displayed in the Home* submitted by Anna Kuranicheva in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Ukrainian Folklore.

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ABSTRACT

The study examines 411 Ukrainian art objects documented in 24 homes of Ukrainians living in Edmonton. These items are classified and analyzed based on definition of "Ukrainian," type of art, geographical origin, function, means of acquisition, and meanings. The objects are further compared to the four subgroups of the sample: established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants on one hand, and Active and Passive Ukrainians on the other hand. The observed differences are explored in their relationship to ethnic identity as a complex mix of a) external and internal aspects and b) 4 factors of territory, ethnic culture, heritage symbols and personal identification. Established Ukrainian-Canadians and Active Ukrainians place strong emphasis on external aspects and heritage symbols. Ukrainian immigrants and Passive Ukrainians are better represented in affirming ethnicity through personal identification. Additionally, Active Ukrainians dominate in identification with ethnic culture, and the factor of territory appears a salient feature of immigrant ethnic identity.

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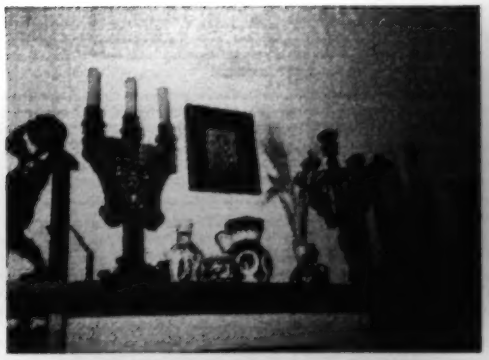

Figure 1. Living-room of the respondent Skr.

Figure 2. Living-room of the respondent Yuz.

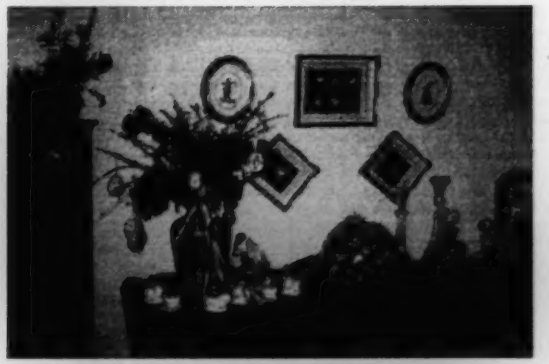

Figure 3. Living-room of the respondent Mak.

Figure 4. Kitchen of the respondent Ba.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The photographs on the previous page were taken in the homes of Ukrainians. Without knowing anything about the residents, would it have been possible to determine their ethnic background by examining the interiors of the homes? Somebody familiar with the material domain of Ukrainian culture might recognize the Ukrainian quality of these homes by pointing out specific objects that adorn the interiors: Easter eggs, triple candle-holders, cross-stitch decal ceramics, dolls in Ukrainian peasant dress, a portrait of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko, etc. What do these objects mean to their owners? Why are they kept on display? How do they contribute to making a home Ukrainian?

The objective of this study is to address these questions. It is designed as a survey of home interiors of Ukrainians, particularly, objects displayed in living-rooms, dining rooms and kitchens, and to explore their characteristics, meanings and significance as markers of Ukrainian identity.

Many of these objects are commonly perceived as art and ascribed specific attributes: "fine," "folk," "popular" etc. For example, an embroidered serviette would be identified as "folk art," a painting as "fine art," and a fridge magnet as "popular art." While I apply a definition of art to apply to the objects under study, the above-mentioned terms of "folk," "fine," and "popular" are found unsatisfactory because they indicate categories of great ambiguity and diffuseness. For example, the existing studies on Ukrainian folk art or decorative art do not offer comprehensive definitions but rather describe these types of art in terms of genres: embroidery, pottery, woodwork, etc. (Antonovych, Zakharchuk-Chuhai, Stankevych; Kubijovyc; Mitz; Zapasko). General dictionary terms describe "folk art" as "artistic expression of folk cultures," wherein

"artistic expression is drawn to the form or decoration of useful objects" (Myers, vol. 2), "made by craftsmen without formal training" (Chilvers and Osborne). However, it is questionable whether an Easter egg or a wood-carved plate would be considered "useful"; or a towel embroidered by somebody who took a course on needlework would be regarded as made by an untrained person. Decorative art, in its turn, is defined as "art forms with primarily decorative rather than an expressive or emotional purposes [unlike fine arts] " (Myers, vol. 2). Does it imply that a decorated candle-holder would not evoke an emotional response, as opposed to a painting? The attribute of "popular" suggests that something described as such is "liked or admired by many people," "prevalent among the general public" (*Oxford Modern English Dictionary*). These definitions would apply to an Easter egg, or to B. Lepkyi's portrait of Shevchenko, and yet the former is commonly recognized as "folk art," and the latter – as "fine art." Anthropologists, whose approach has been applied to this study, emphasize the setting or context in which the art is displayed as the most significant defining characteristic, "because today the forms and materials of art are frequently the same as those of non-art objects…A pile of tires in a museum is to be viewed as art whereas the same pile in a gas station is clearly not." (Vogel 11) In a similar fashion, works exhibited in art galleries are labeled "fine art" as opposed to "craft" or "folk art" displayed at festival grounds or sold at the market.

The term "art" itself receives a variety of interpretations referring to "almost any patterned application of skill, from cooking or public speaking to a variety of graphic and plastic creations" (Firth 15).

The concept of "art" adopted for this study is based on the anthropological perspective proposed by Howard Morphy who sees art as "objects having semantic

and/or aesthetic properties that are used for presentational or representational purposes" (655). Thus, objects that are displayed in living-rooms can be categorized as art. In anthropology and folklore, the aesthetic aspect of art embraces not only formal qualities which enable one to perceive an object as beautiful, but also a larger domain of meaning. Morphy defines aesthetics as "the effects of salient properties of objects on the senses." Salient properties include such physical ones as form, medium, texture, as well as non-material attributes, for instance, age, traditionality, association with a particular person or place (673). Barre Toelken states that art forms should be recognized and judged as aesthetically pleasing with regard to art's capacity "to express important elements of meaning and design which others can respond to" (221).

Folklorists and anthropologists perceive "art" as a broad category, more inclusive than the one promoted by art connoisseurs and critics. In other words, art forms can be observed not only in art galleries and other designated settings, but also in everyday life (Toelken 219-223; Blundell 17). This approach is consistent with the choice of the locus for my study – public spaces of homes, such as living-rooms, dining-rooms and kitchens.

Folkloristic, anthropological and sociological studies on symbolism of the domestic environment have shown that interiors reflect the private self of owners, and decorative objects displayed in the home act as means to articulate residents' social and other identities that are projected into both personal and public worlds.[1]

Folklorists and anthropologists explore art within a broad context of culture which involves a variety of aspects: where the art was made, how it was acquired, what its

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 2, par. 2.2.

functions are and what it means to the people who made it and own it (Hatcher 1). According to Henry Glassie, the study of art involves the process of discovering through objects the values of their makers and users (143).

Within folklore and anthropology, a distinction is also made between "emic" and "etic" culture, either or both of which researchers may describe.[1] According to James Lett, emic constructs are accounts, descriptions and analyses regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the native members of the culture whose beliefs and behaviors are being studied. On the other hand, etic constructs are interpretations by scientific observers who study the given culture (130-131). This study involves both perspectives: I collect and relate the emic accounts of "the culture under study" – Ukrainians who own Ukrainian art and display it in their homes – and process them from an etic stance as a researcher. In order to distinguish Ukrainian items among other objects found in respondents' homes, I consider both my educated understanding of what art objects are Ukrainian and the owners' comments on what items they perceive as Ukrainian. A significant part of the study is based on emic descriptions - owners' accounts of the sources, uses, means of acquisition and meanings of art objects in their homes. At the same time, I voice my own perspective on why particular items are ascribed certain attributes and meanings by different people and how they act as means to affirm ethnic identity.

The following are the questions that I seek to address in the course of the project:

1. What art objects are considered Ukrainian?

[1] The terms "emic" and "etic" are formulated and put to use in anthropological theory by Kenneth Pike and Marvin Harris (Pike 28-47).

2. What kinds of Ukrainian art objects are displayed in the homes of Ukrainians and how can they be defined and classified? [1]
3. What are the origins of these objects?
4. Do they have functions other than decoration?
5. How were they acquired?
6. Are these objects special to their owners and in what ways?
7. Do different subgroups within the Ukrainian community (established Ukrainian-Canadians, Ukrainian immigrants, Active and Passive Ukrainians) recognize, acquire, use, and consider these objects special in different ways? How are these differences manifested?
8. How is Ukrainian identity expressed through Ukrainian art objects displayed in the home?
9. Whether/in what ways do different subgroups within the Ukrainian community identify with ethnicity differently?

The study is organized according to the sequence of questions listed above. Chapter 2 provides an overview of related literature that I referred to while putting together the thesis. The description of the locus, sampling method, collecting procedures the discussion of the Ukrainian quality of the objects and the reflexivity aspect are presented in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I examine the objects, defining and classifying them in terms of "type of art," geographical origin and function. In Chapter 5, I describe a variety of means of acquisition and different types of donors of the objects. Meanings and

[1] Since the conventional terms of "folk," "fine" and "popular" are vague, I need to find other ways to categorize and define the observed artworks.

associations ascribed to the art objects by their owners are codified and analyzed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 explores differences and similarities between by different subgroups within the Ukrainian community in the ownership of different types of Ukrainian art, its uses, acquisition and significance. In Chapter 8, I address the issues of ethnic identity, various aspects of ethnic identification and the characteristics of the expression of Ukrainian identity by different types of Ukrainians. Finally, Chapter 9 summarizes the main findings of the thesis and its contribution to the field of Ukrainian Canadian studies, and puts forward a number of suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

While I did not find a single work dealing specifically with the relationship between Ukrainian art displayed in the home and the expression of ethnic identity, sources on related subjects were consulted and applied to the formation of the thesis. They are presented below in separate paragraphs according to the subject they discuss: 1) studies of Ukrainian art; 2) research on home interiors and the symbolic meaning of domestic objects; 3) literature on ethnic identity; 4) research on the interrelation of Ukrainian art and ethnicity.

2.1. Studies of Ukrainian Art

In order to develop a sense of what art can be considered Ukrainian and what objects should receive special attention when observing Ukrainian homes, I referred to a number of sources that discuss Ukrainian art in detail. Works written by Ukrainian scholars in both Ukraine and North America were considered (Antonovych, Zakharchuk-Chuhai, Stankevych[1]; Bazhan; Mitz; Kubijovyc; Zapasko). These sources provide information on so-called Ukrainian "fine art" and "folk art"; I was particularly interested in accounts and photos of artists' works, genre-based descriptions and illustrations of "folk" art, discussions of social context, traditionality and change over time. These studies were valuable in devising my own typology of Ukrainian art displayed in the domestic environment.

[1] If a Ukrainian surname does not have an accepted English spelling, I transliterate it according to the Library of Congress transliteration system ("Library of Congress Slavic Cyrillic Transliteration").

2.2. Research on Home Interiors and Symbolic Meaning of Domestic Objects

The foci of research on symbolism of domestic environment range from the yard, the house and its exterior to particular objects in the interior. The large-scale approach is exemplified by Gerald Pocius' study of a Newfoundland's community. He explores social significance and the construction of meanings in everyday space which embraces geographical location, settlement clusters, house-yards, houses, rooms and objects displayed in the interior. The dwelling itself is seen as "a cluster of ordered spaces: rooms with specific functions filled with socially appropriate objects and decorations. The entire visual environment becomes a code that is concerned with particular types of behavior" (Pocius 228). The living room particularly is compared to a museum "where everything that is special, unique or fancy is kept on permanent exhibition, and… opened for viewing to a select public" (239).

Clare Cooper suggests that the home with its interior and façade reflects the self of the residents, both the self as viewed from within, and the self that we choose to display to others: "as we become accustomed to, and lay claim to, this little niche in the world, we project something of ourselves onto its physical fabric. The furniture we install, the way we arrange it, the pictures we hang… all are messages about ourselves that we want to convey back to ourselves, and to the few intimates that we invite into this, our house" (131).

Home interiors have long drawn attention of sociologists (Chapin; Junker; Laumann and House; Pratt; Warner). Their studies provide descriptions of interior décor, inventories of furniture, drapes, decorative objects, and explore stylistic differences and patterns observed in the homes of people of different socio-economic statuses. While

focusing on the interior as a reflection of residents' social behavior, roles, and hierarchies, these studies reveal little about the meaning of decorative objects to their owners. By contrast, a more recent sociological work written by David Halle analyses the relationship between art, social class, power and ideological domination through the exploration of attitudes and meanings ascribed to art by its owners. He argues that role of art in the society should be examined with regard to the domestic setting it is displayed in. Halle emphasizes the importance of empirical data: although twentieth-century art history heavily stresses the role of artists and critics, the meaning of art in the context of the home settings should not be deduced from the values assigned to artworks by art historians, connoisseurs, corporations or others (6-11).

A study by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton focuses specifically on personal meaning and symbolism of domestic environment. By asking their respondents about what things in their homes are most special to them, the authors explore the meanings of objects and their significance in their owners' lives. They documented 1, 694 items which fit into a number of acquisition categories and meaning classes. The latter include intrinsic qualities of objects, heirlooms, memories of the past, associations with particular people. The authors also discuss social class, sex, and generational differences in the distribution of meanings attached to special objects. One of their conclusions most relevant to my study is that artworks are rarely valued for their formal qualities, as opposed to deep emotional attachment to these objects for personal associations they evoked. Czikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton's study is an essential aid for me in preparing interview questions, coding responses and devising analytical categories.

A work by Stephen Riggins explores the significance of material objects in the everyday environment. His study is based on an ethnographic account of one living room which, as a special kind of place, is regarded as an intense interactive space in which people's material and social identities are articulated, and which "constitutes a transactional space for the household as well as a stage for selective contacts with the outside world" (Riggins 101). Like Czikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, Riggins explores the significance of domestic objects by means of "analytical categories" that include "normal" and "alien" use, "status," "esteem," "time indicators" and "social facilitators." I use these categories as a reference tool to devise my own classification of meanings.

2.3. Literature on Ethnic Identity

Fredrik Barth made a valuable contribution to research on ethnic identity by emphasizing the role of ethnic boundaries in the definition of ethnic groups – sometimes distinctive ethnic features not only persist in contact with other groups but also can be reinforced and cultivated (9-10). This approach is particularly useful in studying ethnic identity in Canadian society which is comprised of a variety of ethnic groups.

My understanding of ethnic identity is grounded in the definition proposed by Wsevolod Isajiw, a Ukrainian-Canadian sociologist, who describes ethnic identity as a "phenomenon indicated by the attributes and behavior patterns that derive from membership in an ethnic group" ("Definitions of Ethnicity" 112). He approaches ethnic identity as a complex phenomenon consisting of external and internal aspects (*Ethnic Identity Retention* 1-4). In a study on ethnic identity retention of nine ethnic groups in

Toronto area, including Ukrainians, he explores persistence and deterioration of various external and internal elements of ethnicity (*Ethnic Identity Retention*). External aspects include ethnic language retention, ethnic group friendships, participation in ethnic group functions, ethnic media and ethnic traditions. The internal aspects refer to ethnic group obligations and ethnic socialization. Isajiw's criteria to measure identity retention are applied to this study in selecting participants for the sample and analyzing different types of Ukrainian identity expressed through Ukrainian art.

One of the findings of Isajiw's project reveals that possession of ethnic art is the second most common external aspect of identity retained by nearly all groups under study. This conclusion suggests that a nuanced approach to ethnic art, the topic of this thesis, is significant in understanding Ukrainian identity in Canada.

Other scholars have also proposed criteria and principles to measure ethnic identity retention and analyze it in a structured way (Andersen; Driedger). The typology developed by Leo Driedger is of particular value for my study. He distinguishes six factors of ethnic identification: identification with a territory, ethnic institutions, ethnic culture, historical symbols, ideology and charismatic leadership (143-148). I utilize Driedger's system to explore various connections between art objects and ethnic identity.

Another study on ethnicity in Canada is a Master's thesis defended in 1993. It discusses, on a more local level, expression of identity in the German community of Edmonton, particularly, among German immigrants (Nelle). The author regards the home as the most important space in North America for communicating ethnicity. The adherence to the ethnic group is evaluated with regards to foodstyles, values, language retention and material items; the latter includes decorative objects. Nelle observes

differences in the expression of ethnic identity between ten households chosen for the study. While describing of material items, she notes that for some respondents German-made items are more important, and others prefer objects that connect them to personal memories of Germany, for example, inherited items. Several interviewees mentioned the necessity of hand-made decorations for creating a German atmosphere in the home (Nelle 97-98). My focus on the diversity of ethnic art is shared with this study.

Two others sources deserve special attention. American sociologist Herbert Gans introduces the concept of "symbolic ethnicity" which refers to the transformation of ethnic cultural patterns into symbols by third- and forth-generation "ethnics"– they choose a voluntary role to identify with their heritage, for example, participation in ethnic organizations, observing ethnic holidays, consuming ethnic foods. While I do not discuss "symbolic ethnicity" in my study, the following points stated by Gans are significant here: ethnicity for third- and forth-generation North Americans can be more voluntary than ascriptive; most of these people look for easy and intermittent ways of expressing their identity, and the chosen symbols must be visible and clear in meaning to the general population.

Finally, Jean Burnet and Howard Palmer explore immigration to Canada in its historical context, immigrants' adaptation to the host society and the maintenance of identity. While discussing the issue of ethnic identity, the authors point out that quite often immigrants acquire awareness of their ethnic background and heritage only upon arrival to the host country. My analysis of expression of ethnic identity through art by Ukrainian immigrants is consistent with this observation.

2.4. Research on the Interrelation of Ukrainian Art and Ethnicity

One of the earlier works on Ukrainian art and ethnicity in Canada was written by Robert Klymasz, an outstanding Ukrainian-Canadian folklorist. He approaches the Ukrainian art tradition in Canada as composed of three distinct parts in somewhat chronological sequence: Pioneer Folk, National Art and Ethnic Pop (Klymasz). While discussing each of them in relation to ethnic identity, the scholar pays special attention to the persistence of peasant symbolism, to the transformation of particular attributes of Ukrainian culture, such as bandura, embroidery and decal ceramics, into ethnic icons, and to the sensory appeal of Ukrainian folk heritage in Canada manifested through food, visual arts and dance. I refer to Klymasz's study as one of the guides to understand why art has become one of the common mediums to express ethnicity in Canada and why symbols of peasant culture are popular among Ukrainian Canadians.[1]

The findings of the earlier mentioned study by Isajiw resulted in the analysis of the meaning and significance of symbols of Ukrainian-Canadian identity. In "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity," Isajiw creates a typology of symbols that is closely related to his division of ethnic identity into internal and external aspects. He maintains that Ukrainian Canadian identity relies heavily on Ukrainian peasant heritage and is based on so-called "primary synoptic" symbols of ethnic food and ethnic artistic objects. Because there has not been enough creation of new symbols to reflect the Ukrainian Canadian experience specifically, the author argues, the "essence" of Ukrainian identity

[1] The use of "symbol" in this study is based on one of the definitions provided in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*: "symbol" refers to something that stands for or represents an abstract idea through conventional, culturally determined meaning ("Symbol"). For example, the poppy, the sheep or cross-stitch embroidery are symbols of Ukrainian peasant culture and are commonly perceived in the Ukrainian-Canadian community as symbols of Ukrainianness.

for most Ukrainians in Canada often returns to basic primary experiences of peasant-based food and art. Isajiw's essay provided me with an insight into the continuing significance of peasant symbolism for Ukrainian-Canadians.

A recent article by Lubow Wolynetz focuses on Ukrainian folk art as a means of preserving national characteristics by Ukrainians in Canada, and the necessity to study traditional folk art practiced by peasants before the end of the 19th century and to educate younger generations in order to pass on the understanding of Ukrainian heritage.

Michael Jones, in his turn, explores the function and meaning of Ukrainian art in the lives of today's Ukrainian-Canadians. Taking the Easter egg as an example, he discusses its perseverance as a form of expression of both Ukrainian experience and Canadian identity.

Although Wolynetz and Jones have different standpoints in their approach to Ukrainian art, their works exemplify the common perception that ethnicity is associated primarily with traditional peasant art, such as Easter eggs and embroidery. The findings of my study, however, prove that other types of art, too, can serve as markers of ethnic identity in the perception of those who these objects belong to, thus creating a "polyphony" of perspectives on the relationship between art and ethnicity.

CHAPTER THREE: FIELDWORK

3.1. Locus

Information on the scope of art in domestic settings and the exploration of its meaning to the owners were collected through fieldwork in people's dwellings. I visited homes of Ukrainians living in Edmonton and interviewed the residents about the art objects that they displayed in their living-rooms, dining-rooms and kitchens. These spaces are considered "public" areas of the home and are relatively easily accessible to outsiders such as myself, and I assumed I would not be unduly intruding in domestic privacy by asking about objects normally visible to visitors. Besides, since these spaces are open to outside viewers, their design and decoration are directed outwardly. People make non-verbal statements about themselves through the objects displayed in the public spaces of their homes. Living-rooms particularly are significant sites where decorative objects are used to deliberately make an impression (Riggins 102). Through fieldwork interviews and observations, I attempted to not only find out what displayed objects meant to their owners personally, but also what kind of outward impressions and statements those objects communicated.

3.2. Sampling Method and General Sample Characteristics

In order to determine respondents for the study, two methods were used – convenience sampling and snowball sampling. A **convenience sample** is selected from any group readily accessible to the researcher that is assumed to possess characteristics relevant to the study (LeCompte and Schensul, *Essential Ethnographic Methods* 233). In my case, a few Ukrainian participants were easily accessible due to my own involvement

in the Edmonton Ukrainian community – through the Ukrainian folklore program I am enrolled in, the Ukrainian student club and other voluntary activities. In such a way, 10 key informants were identified. Subsequently, the method of **snowball sampling** was applied. This approach suggests locating one or a few key individuals and asking them for referrals to others who would be likely candidates for the research (Bernard 97). Snowball sampling was particularly useful for my study, because Canadian Ukrainians in their ethnic community are actively engaged in various intra-group networks: personal, business, religious, etc. The key informants referred me to other prospective participants; those in their turn, suggested a few more candidates.

As a result, I visited 24 homes and interviewed 25 residents; except one instance when both spouses were willing to talk about their interior, I spoke to one member of the household. The composition of the sample was as follows: 18 females and 7 males in the age range between mid 20s to mid 60s. Seven respondents were Ukrainian immigrants who had settled in Canada within the past 10 years and were living in their own houses at the time of the interview. The other 18 participants are defined as established Ukrainian-Canadians. In this group, 15 individuals were born in Canada and belong to the second or third generation of Ukrainian-Canadians, whereas the other 3 came to Canada 40-50 years ago.

The sample does not show equal representation of gender and geographic background. It was easier to find female participants, probably, because women are traditionally ascribed a dominant role in managing the household, and because interior decoration is seen as an aspect of traditional femininity (Loyd; Riggins).

With regards to the immigration history, established Ukrainian-Canadians dominated the sample. Ukrainian immigrants were a more difficult target. Because of my student status and very recent arrival to Canada (3 years ago), I am not involved in the network of earlier immigrants and therefore had to rely on only two key informants, who referred me to other prospective respondents. Only a few names were suggested because not many had their own homes or were said to have extremely busy schedules.

Additionally, three other individuals were interviewed in non-domestic settings. Two were makers of Ukrainian decorative objects who I talked to at the displays with their merchandise in malls, and the third was the manager of the Ukrainian book-store in Edmonton where a variety of Ukrainian items – from works by Ukrainian writers to fridge magnets – are sold. I asked these respondents about the various objects they were selling, what times were busiest for sales, what objects were most popular with clientele, etc.

Altogether, 28 individuals were interviewed.

3.3. Collecting Procedures and Criteria for Selecting Objects

Prior to actual interviews, I asked respondents to let me explore their living rooms, dining rooms and kitchens in order to become familiar with the interior and decorative objects in it. Subsequently, residents were interviewed about the displayed objects. Interview questions included: when, from where and from whom the objects were received; what their permanent position in the house was; what meanings and associations were attached to those objects; and whether the interviewees had favorite items. With the permission of the respondents, the documented items were photographed.

Ukrainian art objects were of primary interest, in accordance with the objectives of the study. Whenever time allowed, non-Ukrainian items were noted and discussed with the owners as well. However, they are left out from the target group of objects. In this study, "Non-Ukrainian" art includes decorative items belonging to a variety of the world's cultures (e.g., a wooden Buddha from Taiwan and Inuit soup-stone carvings), or other ethnically-unspecific objects (for example, various ceramic figurines, paintings, etc.). The "Ukrainian" qualities of art are discussed in the section that follows.

3.4. Human Connection and Reflexivity

Since the 1970s, ethnographers, folklorists and anthropologists in North America have concerned themselves with the issues of reflexivity and subjectivity of the researcher to the production and representation of ethnographic knowledge (Barnard 164-166). Reflexivity is viewed as part of understanding ethnographer's data and collection; it is accomplished through detachment, internal dialogue and constant scrutiny of "what I know" and "how I know it" (Hertz viii). A reflexive approach suggests that since researchers come into the field with their own cultural, social and personal backgrounds, they should be aware of how those backgrounds shape and "color" their position in the field and vision of the issues studied. Contemporary scholarship recognizes the fact that researchers do not simply report "facts" or "truths," but actively construct interpretations of their experiences in the field, and inevitably bias the process and outcomes of ethnographic study – from the questions they ask to those they ignore, from who they study to who the ignore, from problem formation to analysis, representation and writing. However, this all does not make research less credible or invalid. Michael Agar and

others argue that it should be part of research methodology to identify biases and the ways they enter ethnographic work and acknowledge them when drawing conclusions during analysis (42).

How does my own background influence the procedures and outcomes of this project? There are positive and negative aspects of the impact my identity brings in the research.

I received a warm welcome in every home I visited, and the respondents seemed eager to talk about their art objects and meanings attached to them. In my opinion, their friendly cooperative attitude was largely determined by the fact that I was viewed as an insider to the community they identified with: I am Ukrainian, study Ukrainian folklore at the university. For example, Ukrainian immigrants encouraged me to relate my experience of adjusting to Canadian life-style; those familiar with Ukrainian folk art and customs enjoyed sharing their knowledge and opinions with a Ukrainian folklore student; based on our common origins, some Canadian-born Ukrainians perceived me as an "appropriate" interlocutor to talk about their genealogies, family backgrounds, memories of growing up in a Ukrainian community. The study does not illustrate the quantity of Ukrainian art objects in typical Ukrainian homes in Edmonton. Likely, the sample overrepresents Ukrainian objects.

On the other hand, the fieldwork showed that being an insider created two challenges. Because I introduced myself and the general intent of the study – "Ukrainian student researching decorative objects in the homes of Ukrainians" – in preliminary arrangements, my key respondents might have suggested people whose interiors, in their opinion, would have enough Ukrainian art to satisfy my research interests. Also, I could

not be certain that I would observe decorative objects in their every-day context and that my respondents did not "prepare" for the interviews by making their interiors look as "Ukrainian" as possible. As a matter of fact, many interviewees first proudly pointed at Ukrainian objects in their homes believing those were exactly what I was looking for. On the other hand, some apologized that they, in their words, did not have "enough Ukrainian pieces" or "traditional art" to satisfy my needs.

The other challenge was to persuade potential respondents to participate or to refer me to others when they stated their ineligibility for the study because they "did not possess many Ukrainian objects" or "did not have any traditional art." In pursuit of the study's objective, I tried to explain that I was looking at a variety of Ukrainian homes with a wide range of objects and not targeting "traditional" or "proper Ukrainian" interiors only.

Because my knowledge of Ukrainian art is part of the background I bring to the field, the selection criteria for objects to be included in the study are biased by my personal understanding of the "Ukrainian" quality of art. Therefore, there is a need to distinguish between etic and emic perception of Ukrainianness, between what I believe is Ukrainian and what the respondents think.[1] "Ukrainian art" is a widely used term, and yet, few scholars have attempted to explicitly define the "Ukrainian" quality of art. Andriy Nahachewsky, one of them, offers a tripartite perspective: an object can be Ukrainian by geography, derivation and/or symbolism. My approach to characterize Ukrainian art echoes his model. So what are the attributes of art objects that I perceive as Ukrainian? In most cases, it was fairly easy to identify objects eligible for the study

[1] The anthropological concepts of "emic" and "etic" are introduced in Chapter 1, p. 5.

because of their qualities that I the researcher recognized as Ukrainian, based on my knowledge of Ukrainian art acquired through empirical observations and academic studies. Herein, such objects are considered **Ukrainian by etic definition**, they are characterized by the following attributes:

1) Paintings and sculptures made by Ukrainian artists (originals and reproductions) and concerned with Ukrainian subjects or themes, e.g., Ukrainian peasants, Ukrainian ritual breads, scenes with Ukrainian cities (figures 5-7, p. 26). Also, some works are distinctly remarkable for the style of the artist who I know is/was Ukrainian – e.g., Jacques Hnizdovsky, Peter Shostak (figures 8-9, p. 27). Such pieces are therefore considered Ukrainian art although they do not necessarily portray themes that are uniquely Ukrainian.

2) Objects referred to as traditional Ukrainian folk art in the academic literature devoted to this subject.[1] This group includes a variety of genres that are connected to the Ukrainian peasant repertoire (figures 10-13, p. 28).[2] They are: wood-work (candle-holders, carved boxes and plates, etc.), embroidery (towels, serviettes, table cloths), ceramics (vases, tiles, jugs, whistles, dolls), blown glass (a rooster), tapestry, Easter eggs, musical instruments (banduras and flutes), wedding breads, straw-weavings, icons, vegetal decorations (pussy-willows, sheaves, poppies). These items are easy to identify as Ukrainian because I am familiar with such objects themselves (clay peasant dolls, wedding breads, "twin" cups) or decorative techniques (cross-stitch, *Petrykivka* painting style, inlay carving techniques of Hutsul artisans).

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[1] As explained in Chapter 2, par. 2.1, I examined a number of publications dealing with classifications and descriptions of Ukrainian folk art to verify my familiarity with the Ukrainian folk tradition by scholarly sources.

3) Other items that would not be observed in the peasant context but still are concerned with themes or motifs that make references to Ukrainian peasant culture, according to the assumed intent of the maker, for instance, a poster with an embroidered shirt or a "perogy" fridge magnet (figures 14-15, p. 29).

4) Miscellaneous art objects recognized as Ukrainian because of various references to Ukrainian non-peasant culture: language (Ukrainian calendars), Ukraine as place of origin (*Svitoch* chocolates, vodka bottles with ornate labels). I am able to discern these items because I know Ukrainian and remember similar things from Ukraine (figures 16-18, p. 30).

While distinguishing between different perceptions of Ukrainianness, I introduce another bias in the study because I assume that objects recognized by me as Ukrainian are also perceived as such by their owners.

Certain items do not display Ukrainian attributes that I am able to see on my own. They are introduced to me as Ukrainian by the respondents without me identifying their Ukrainian qualities first. Because these items are perceived as Ukrainian by their owners, I call them **Ukrainian by emic definition only**. Based on the reasons given by the respondents to consider these objects as Ukrainian, they can be divided into several categories:

1). Objects made by Ukrainians – for example, an embroidery with ballet-dancer created by the Ukrainian grandmother, fridge magnets made by a Ukrainian (figures 19-20, p.31). This category also includes fine art created by Ukrainian artists whose style I

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[2] My definition of the term "peasant" suggests "Ukrainian rural dwellers who live primarily by agriculture."

do not recognize personally and whose works do not have visible Ukrainian contents, e.g., a still-life with flowers and fruit (figure 21, p.31).

2) Items inherited from older member of the family in Ukraine. Most of them had served primarily utilitarian purposes but now are used in a decorative capacity – ceramic pots, wine bottles, match-holder, etc. [Pro 6; Sem 3].[1]

3) Art regarded as Ukrainian by geographical factor – brought from Ukraine. Such objects could have been made in Ukraine, e.g., tea-sets and stacking dolls, or produced elsewhere and purchased in Ukraine, for instance, Bohemian crystal-ware (figures 22-24, p. 32).

4) Objects which embody connections to Ukraine as homeland. They are associated with the personal experience of growing up and living in Ukraine. For example, a set of ceramic spice containers in the shape of different vegetables is described as Ukrainian because the interviewee, a Ukrainian immigrant, had a big garden with a variety of vegetables back in Ukraine [Bo 4].

5) Art which evokes memories of personal experience of growing up in Canada, particularly childhood and adolescent years of living on a prairie farm. The examples in this group display themes and motifs related to farm life, e.g. ears of wheat, a field with haystacks, farming activities (figures 25-26, p. 33).

6) Unlike the previous two categories, this one includes objects that do not enliven personal connections or memories but are perceived as symbols of Ukraine as an abstract cultural entity. For example, an old sickle is regarded as Ukrainian because it used to be an essential object for Ukrainian peasants [Pro 3]; in a similar way, a rooster-

[1] Each object is assigned a code. Codes and corresponding descriptions of objects are listed in columns D and E of the Appendix.

shaped jug acquires an ethnically-specific capacity because the rooster is considered a prominent symbol in Ukrainian culture (figure 28, p. 34).

A number of pieces in this group are initially non-Ukrainian by their origins – e.g., an icon was written elsewhere and bought in an Edmonton second-hand store, or a porcelain plate with poppy motifs was made in England (figure 27, p. 34). However, these items become ukrainianized or metamorphosed into Ukrainian objects based on the perception of the owner - icons and poppies are important symbols of Ukrainian culture.

The distinction between etic/emic perception of Ukrainian art objects contributes to the analysis of Research Question 1: what art is considered Ukrainian?

Statistical calculations reveal the following distribution of objects between the two definitions of "Ukrainian": [1]

Table 1. Distribution of objects by etic/emic definition of "Ukrainian."

Definition	**Objects, % (= number of items)**
Ukrainian by etic definition	75 (= 308)
Ukrainian by emic definition only	25 (= 103)
Total	*100 (= 411)*

The considerable number of objects which are Ukrainian by emic definition only, 25%, indicates that it would have been unreliable to make conclusions about ethnic characteristics of art in domestic interiors by the researcher's observation alone. The information gleaned from the interviews is essential in projects such as this.

[1] See column G in the Appendix.

Figure 5. Painting by
Bohdan Berezhevskyi (Ho 3).

Figure 6. Painting of a Lviv scene
by Fediv (Kach 15).

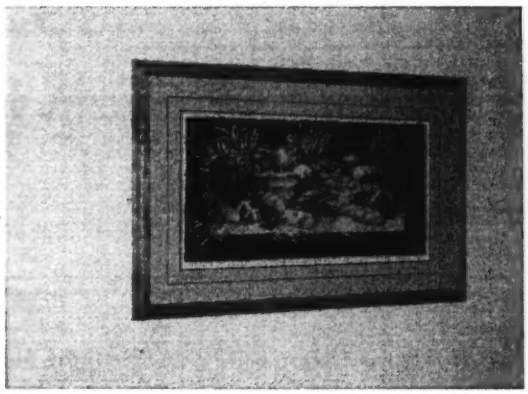

Figure 7. *Easter Breads* by Larisa Cheladyn (Op 26).

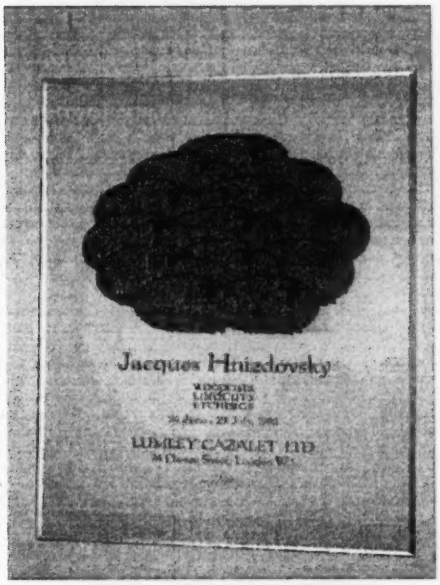

Figure 8. Graphic of sheep by Jacques Hnizdovsky (Kach 12).

Figure 9. Painting of a Ukrainian wedding by Peter Shostak (Ho 4).

Figure 10. Ceramic ram (Op 22),
ceramic figurine of a woman with bread (Op 23),
clay peasant figurines (Op 24, 24a),
wreath (Op 24b).

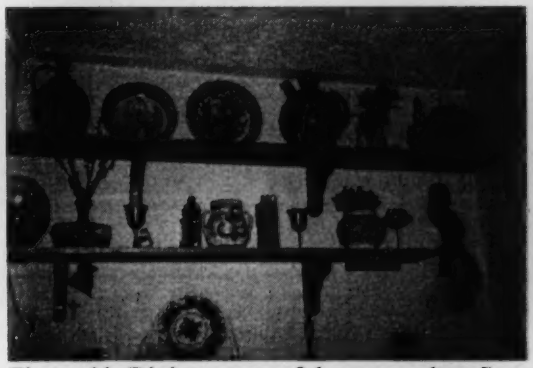

Figure 11. Dining-room of the respondent Sem.

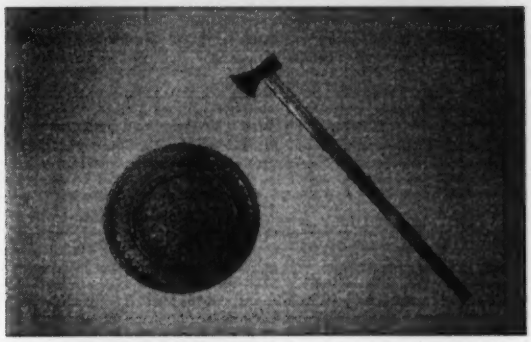

Figure 12. Hutzul wood-carved plate and axe (Yuz 8, 8a).

Figure 13. "Petrykivka"- style painted plates (Di 2, 2a).

Figure 14. Poster of an embroidered shirt with the writing in Ukrainian *Genocide of the Culture - Genocide of the People* (Vin 8).

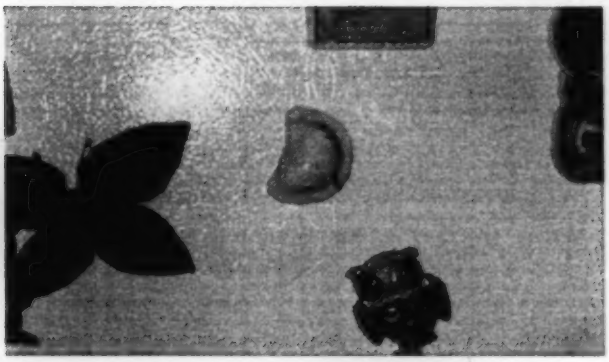

Figure 15. "Perogy" fridge magnet (Tym 8).

Figure 16. Picture with the writing in Ukrainian *God Bless Our Home* (Ben 4).

Figure 17. *Svitoch* chocolates box (Bab 20), Ukrainian vodka bottle (Bab 14).

Figure 18. Ukrainian religious calendar (Sla 20).

Figure 19. Embroidery of a ballet-dancer (Di 7).

Figure 20. Embroidered fridge magnet (Ba 4).

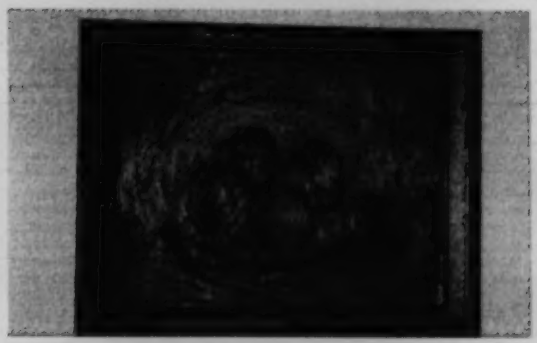

Figure 21. *Apples* by a Ukrainian artist from South America (Kach 11).

Figure 22. Bohemian crystal-ware (Tsi 8).

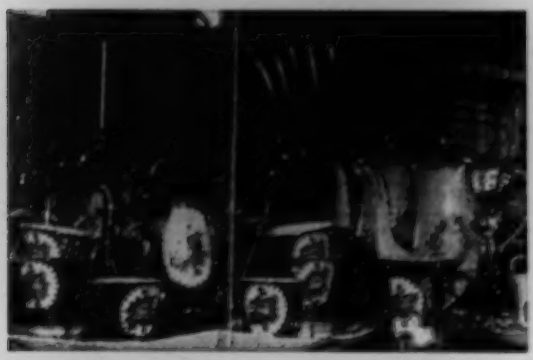

Figure 23. Gilded porcelain tea-set (Ben 2).

Figure 24. Set of stacking dolls (Kach 4).

Figure 25. Painting of a farm scene by Rod McLain (Ro 10).

Figure 26. Glass vase with ears of wheat (Mak 7).

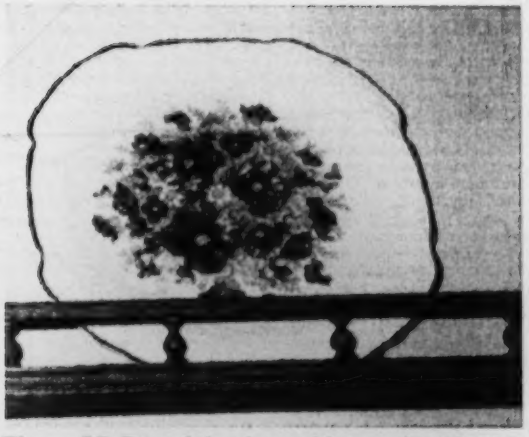

Figure 27. Porcelain plate with poppies (Op 15).

Figure 28. Ceramic rooster (Ho 14).

CHAPTER FOUR: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OBJECTS: TYPE OF ART, GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN AND FUNCTION

4.1. Analysis Procedures

The fieldwork resulted in the identification and documentation of a great variety of decorative objects associated with Ukrainianness. Interviews were transcribed and typed up; each object was assigned a code containing the first 2-4 letters of the respondent's name and a number.[1] The code names are used to reference the objects in the text and to index the photographs. In total, 411 items are identified as Ukrainian and considered for the study.[2]

Once the data was organized, I engaged in analysis in order to further pursue my research questions. The analysis model developed by LeCompte and Schensul was utilized (*Designing & Conducting Ethnographic Research* 150-159). The authors approach analysis of ethnographic data as a three-level process: item, pattern and structural levels. "Items" are those events, behaviors, statements that stand out because they occur often, are influential or crucial to other items, etc. The recognition of such items is often guided by the study's research questions. In relation to Research Questions 2-6, I identified items in interviewees' responses that could be potentially incorporated in answers to those questions.[3] For example, such items include the intrinsic qualities of objects, statements about their use in the household, their sources, values and meanings they communicate to the owners, etc.

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[1] See column D in the Appendix.

[2] A number of homes that I visited abounded with Ukrainian objects, and in some cases it was impossible to document all items within the limited time of 1.5 – 2 hours of an interview. Therefore, 411 is an approximate but not the exact number of all Ukrainian objects that the respondents displayed in the public spaces of their homes. The exact number, in my estimate, could be 20-30 items more. I recognize this as a limitation of the study, and leave it for further research to support or controvert my findings.

[3] Cross-reference: Chapter 1, p. 6.

"Patterns" or "domains" consist of groups of items that fit together, express a particular theme or constitute a consistent set of characteristics. My items are organized into domains based on what type of art the objects belong to, what function they perform, how they were acquired, in what ways they are special, etc. As a result, the following domains emerge: "Emic/Etic Definition of 'Ukrainian'," "Type of Art," "Geographical Origin," "Function," "Means of Acquisition," and "Meanings." The domains are subsequently divided into "categories;" every object is assigned a corresponding category or categories within each domain.[1]

The "structural" level involves linking or finding consistent relationships among domains. By comparing the distribution of the assembled domains between the earlier discussed Sample Planes, I explore correlations between different subgroups in the Ukrainian community and the types of art they own, the means of acquiring these objects, the functions and meanings people attached to them and the ways of associating those objects with ethnicity. The findings of the analysis on structural level provides me with an understanding of the issues stated in research questions 7 and 9.[2]

This chapter is concerned with the domains "Type of Art," "Geographical Source" and "Function." The discussion of the other domains follows in the subsequent chapters.[3]

4.2. Type of Art [4]

This domain consists of four categories which are described below.

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[1] See columns G-L in the Appendix.
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 1, p. 6.
[3] Domain "Emic/Etic Definition of 'Ukrainian' is discussed in Chapter 3, par. 3.4, pp. 21-34.
[4] See column H in the Appendix.

Actual Peasant items are objects that were actually found in peasant villages in Ukraine, particularly those used at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries.

Imitation Peasant Art includes pieces that were made recently with the intent to imitate actual peasant objects. This type of art as well as Actual Peasant items are considered *traditional* because they make references to peasantry in the above-mentioned time-frame.[1] The following criteria are chosen in discerning imitation peasant art:

1) they look like traditional objects that a) are used for utilitarian purposes (pots, sieves); b) are used as decorations of the household (embroideries, straw-weavings, candles, wood-carved plates); c) are both utilitarian and decorative (decorated ceramic ware, candle-holders; d)are both decorative and used for rituals (Easter eggs, wedding breads) or e) serve other purposes (toys, musical instruments).

2) they use traditional materials – clay, wood, straw, eggs, linen, wool or

3) they incorporate traditional techniques – cross-stitch, special wood-carving and ceramic-painting techniques of Hutsul artisans.

Actual Peasant items and Imitation Peasant Art are subsequently sorted by genre. Genre classification has been widely used by researchers of Ukrainian traditional art in Ukraine and North America, which enables them to structure the discussions of art in terms of such categories as ceramics, woodwork, weaving, etc. (Antonovych, Zakharchuk-Chuhai, Stankevych; Bazhan; Mitz; Kubijovyc; Zapasko). In my data sample, the following traditional genres are identified: ceramics, Easter-eggs, embroidery, painting on wood, straw- and wheat-weaving, tapestry, weaving, wood-

[1] In the context of this study, my definition of "traditional" refers to phenomena which were/would have been part of Ukrainian peasant repertoire at the end of 19th – beginning of the 20th century. The significance of this particular time-frame is discussed in Chapter 6, par. 6.12. Because my definition is very specific, the uses of this word by other researchers and the respondents are printed in quotation marks.

carving. The four most common genres are: ceramics (30% = 63 items)[1], woodwork (15% = 31 items), Easter-eggs (11% = 23 items) [2] and embroidery (10% = 20 items).

Peasant-Based Novelties are the objects that make references to Ukrainian peasant culture by themes and motifs displayed. At the same time, they are more recent creations that would not have been observed in the Ukrainian peasant context of the chosen timeline because of the following novel attributes:

1) novelty of the object itself: fridge magnets, photo-albums, Christmas-tree decorations. These objects make thematic references to peasant culture: imitation of cross-stitch embroidery, wreaths, peasants and dancers in traditional costumes, perogies, Easter eggs (figure 30, p. 39).

2) reduced size of traditional objects: miniature bandura (figure 29, p. 39).

3) novelty of the material: plastic plates, Easter eggs, dolls (figure 32, p.39).

4) novelty of the decorative style: ceramics with cross-stitch patterns and/or novelty of the technique: decalcomania, petit-point (figure 31, p.39).

Fine Art comprises pictorial art, icons and sculpture works created by formally trained artists and here associated with Ukrainianness on the basis of the attributes described in Chapter 3. [3]

Miscellaneous Non-Peasant Art involves a broad range of miscellanea without any associations with Ukrainian peasant culture: globes, chocolate boxes, coats-of-arms, crystal-ware, religious calendars, "*Trypillia*" ceramics, tea-sets, joke items (for instance, "Ukrainian Flashlight," "Ukrainian Washer & Dryer" - figures 33-35, p. 40). Such

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[1] 100% is comprised of Actual Peasant Items and Imitation Peasant Art.
[2] I counted individually displayed Easter eggs as items, and also pairs of eggs (e.g., in a glass case) and groupings of eggs (e.g., a bowl with Easter eggs) as single items.
[3] Par. 3.4, pp. 21-34.

Figure 29. Miniature bandura (Bab 4).

Figure 30. "Easter-Egg" fridge magnet (Kay 2).

Figure 32. Plastic dolls in Ukrainian dress (Di 4, 4a).

Figure 31. Decal ceramic tray, sugar container, cream pitcher (Kry 9, 9a, 9b).

Figure 33. Globe (Bo 2).

Figure 34. Ceramics with "Trypillia" design (Mak 3, 4, 4a, 4b, 4c, 4d).

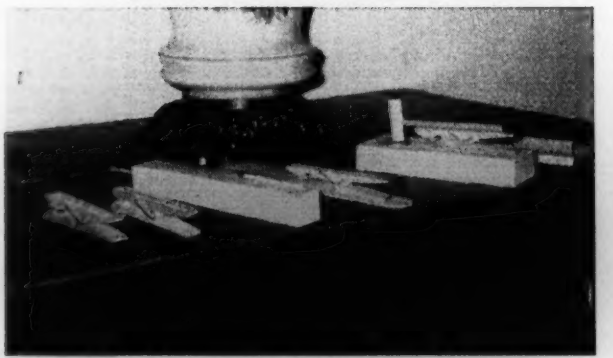

Figure 35. *Ukrainian Novelty* set (Wer 1).

objects are regarded as Ukrainian because they make references to the Ukrainian language, originate from Ukraine, were made or owned by Ukrainians, etc.

The quantitative distribution of the objects by type of art is shown in the table below:

Table 2. Distribution of objects by type of art.

Category within the domain	**Objects, % (= number of items)** [1]
Actual Peasant items	3 (= 11)
Imitation Peasant Art	48 (= 199)
Peasant-Based Novelties	17 (= 70)
Fine Art	16 (= 66)
Miscellaneous Non-Peasant Art	16 (= 65)
Total	*100 (= 411)*

The percentages above indicate that Imitation Peasant Art comprises the largest group of objects (48%). Apparently, they are favored by the respondents to be displayed in the homes. An attempt to explain why peasant art and its symbolism are important to Ukrainians living in Canada will be presented in Chapter 6.

Actual Peasant items are most infrequent (3%), possibly nowadays they have become relics in both Ukraine and Canada. Also, the interviewees may own more than 11 such objects, but they may not consider them to be appropriate for display in their living rooms.

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the percentages and the correspondent numbers of items in parentheses are included in all succeeding tables.

4.3. Geographical Origin [1]

This domain allows us to classify objects based on their geographical source. Three categories are established: objects that originate 1) from Ukraine, 2) from elsewhere and 3) unknown.

The objects from **Ukrainian sources** include those that were made in Ukraine and purchased there or received as gifts by interviewees as well as those of non-Ukrainian origin that were brought to Canada by immigrants from their homes in Ukraine (e.g., Czech-made crystal-ware purchased in a Ukrainian store - Tsi 8, or an Austrian-made butter-scoop inherited by the interviewee's grandmother – Sem 13).

The **non-Ukrainian** category consists of objects originating from a variety of sources: works by North American artists (paintings, ceramics); items made in the Orient (China- or Taiwan-made fridge magnets, plastic flowers) and those that became "ukrainianized" finished products in Canada (Orient-made ceramics with cross-stitch decals or plastic dolls in Ukrainian folk costumes); self-made art (embroidery, wedding breads, Easter-eggs) and others.

In some cases, the respondents do not know or do not remember where a particular item came from, and I was unable to identify the origin myself. These are classified as **unknown**.

The percentages for this domain are presented in table 3 on the following page:

[1] See column I in the Appendix.

Table 3. Distribution of objects by geographical origin. Correlations between types of art and geographical sources. Numbers read 100% down.

	Total	**Actual Peasant items**	**Imitation Peasant Art**	**Peasant-Based Novelties**	**Fine Art**	**Miscella-neous Non-Peasant Art**
Ukrainian	**40 (= 164)**	81 (= 9)	53 (= 105)	13 (= 9)	32 (= 21)	32 (= 20)
Non-Ukrainian	**55 (= 228)**	19 (= 2)	43 (= 86)	86 (= 60)	56 (= 37)	65 (= 43)
Unknown	**5 (= 19)**	0	4 (= 8)	1 (= 1)	12 (= 8)	3 (= 2)
Total	*100 (= 411)*	*100 (=11)*	*100 (= 199)*	*100 (= 70)*	*100 (= 66)*	*100 (= 65)*

The statistics reveal that objects of non-Ukrainian origin are most common (55%). The correlation of the sources with the types of art allows us to see higher frequency of the objects of Ukrainian source in the categories of Actual Peasant Items (81%) and Imitation Peasant Art (53%). These numbers are not surprising, since it could have been expected that the objects making references to Ukrainian peasant culture would be made in/brought from Ukraine.

The objects of non-Ukrainian source reveal high percentage of Peasant-Based Novelties (86%). The ethnic cultural market in the Ukrainian North-American diaspora seems to provide its members with traditional material means to represent ethnicity (for example, Imitation Peasant Art) and also supports the creation of new objects that become symbols of Ukrainianness (for example, Peasant-Based Novelties).

4.4. Function [1]

In this domain of object analysis, objects are divided into several categories based on functions they are currently performing.

Decorative by intent pieces comprise the largest group. They were designed as

[1] See column J in the Appendix.

objects of visual contemplation to be displayed rather than serve utilitarian purposes. This category includes paintings, posters, ceramic figurines, wood-carvings, wheat-weavings, etc.

The next two groups include objects of **both utilitarian and decorative intent** – those that display ornamental features and at the same time are intended for practical purposes, for example, ceramic vases, containers, candle holders, tea-sets, fridge magnets, etc. According to the reported usage of such objects, some of them no longer perform their non-decorative functions, and now are **displayed only** (for example, name mugs, ceramic- and crystalware, fridge magnets, etc.).

Apart from the practical use of objects, the non-decorative function also involves ritual intent. A number of objects included in the study traditionally belong to festive ritual settings in the peasant context: e.g., wedding breads (*korovai*) are prepared for weddings, and sheaves (*didukhy*) are important attributes of peasant holidays of the winter cycle. Although these objects do perform decorative function, they are not traditionally intended for permanent display – the wedding bread was once shared among the family and guests, and sheaves were supposed to be carried outside and used for ritual burning. Herein, the function of permanent display belongs to contemporary urban settings and would not have been observed in the traditional peasant context (figures 36-37, p. 45).

At the same time, other objects **preserve both utilitarian and decorative intent**, and are reported as used either permanently / frequently (photoalbums, vases for flowers, calendars) or for rare special occasions (dinner-sets, tea-sets and candle holders used at family birthdays, parties, "Ukrainian" Christmas and Easter).

Figure 36. Wedding-bread (Kry 7).

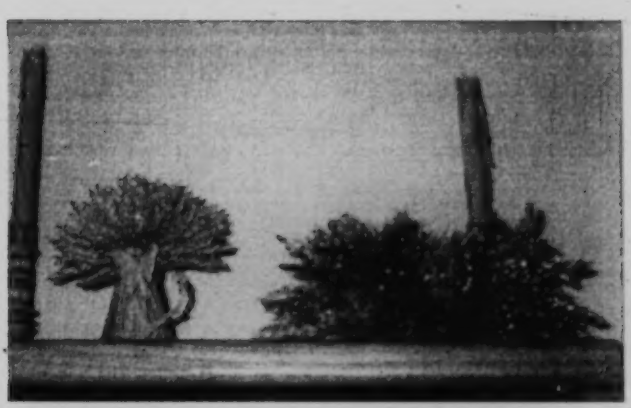

Figure 37. Gilded sheaves of wheat (Op 18, 18a).

While classifying objects based on abandoned or retained functions, I note that similar pieces serve utilitarian purposes in some homes but not in others. The table below shows numbers of types of objects whose current usage differs in the various houses in my data sample:

Table 4. Comparison of objects with abandoned and retained non-decorative functions.

Object description	**Utilitarian and decorative intent: now displayed only,** number of items	**Both utilitarian and decorative intent,** number of items	*Total*
Candle-holder	5	3	*8*
Fridge magnet	4	17	*21*
Ceramic vase	4	3	*7*
Coffee-/tea-set	3	1	*4*
Dinner set	2	1	*3*
Wooden box	1	2	*3*
Photoalbum	1	1	*2*
Embroidered tray	1	1	*2*
Total	*21*	*29*	*50*

According to respondents, some objects are regarded as too special to be in use and risked damage (glass Christmas-tree decorations, china dinner-set, tray with embroidery base).

A number of objects originally intended for utilitarian but not for ornamental functions are observed to have become display items. The phenomenon of the acquisition of a new aesthetic function by practical objects has been recognized by folklorists and art anthropologists and has been referred to as *art by metamorphosis* (Maquet 9). The following items from my database are identified as metamorphosed art: wooden chest, chocolate boxes, vodka bottles, sieve, sickle, clay pot, pool cue, banduras, flutes (figures 38-40, p. 47). In a number of instances, the respondents provide reasons for turning non-decorative objects into display items:

Figure 38. *Svitoch* chocolates (Di 6).

Figure 39. Sieve (Bab11).

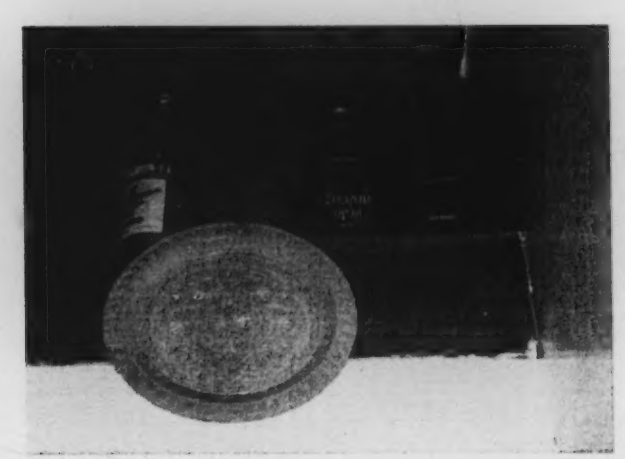

Figure 40. Collection of Ukrainian vodka bottles (Bab 14).

1) Objects are highly valued as family heirlooms, grandparents' possessions and because of their age (chest, pool cue, glass bottles, butter scoop);

2) Items are very old and considered "traditional" as belonging to Ukrainian culture (sickle, wooden chest);

3) Objects were made in Ukraine and are associated with the country as historic or actual motherland (*Svitoch* chocolate boxes);

4) No definite reason: "just liked it" (wooden flute).

The four function categories are analyzed for frequency in the data sample. The results appear in the table below:

Table 5. Distribution of objects by function.

Category within the domain	**Objects**
Decorative by intent	67 (= 278)
Decorative and other functions by intent: now display only	17 (= 69)
Decorative and other functions	10 (= 43)
Metamorphosed art	5 (= 21)
Total	*100 (= 411)*

The prevalence of objects that are decorative by intent (67%) might well have been predicted, since this is consistent with their current function. Interestingly more items with original utilitarian functions are now used strictly for display (17%) rather than continuing their practical uses (10%). Metamorphosed art comprises the smallest group – 5 %.

The categorization and analysis of art objects in the above described three domains provide answers to Research Questions 2-4: what kinds of Ukrainian objects are displayed in the homes of Ukrainians, what their geographical origins and functions are.

CHAPTER FIVE: MEANS OF ACQUISITION

This chapter addresses Research Question 5 and concerns itself with various ways the people acquired the objects. As a result of the coding and systematizing of participants' responses, a domain "Means of Acquisition" is established with a number of categories in it.[1] The table below shows the quantitative distribution of objects within each category:

Table 6. Distribution of objects by means of acquisition.

Category within the domain	**Objects**
Purchased	41 (= 171)
Received as gift	35 (= 142)
Inherited	6.5 (= 27)
Self-made	10 (= 39)
Brought from the family home in Ukraine	2 (= 8)
Other	0.5 (= 2)
Unknown	5 (= 22)
Total	*100 (= 411)*

The following is the explanation of the categories. **Purchased** items are those acquired as purchases by respondents or other members of the household – spouses or children. **Gifts** are objects received by respondents as presents. **Inherited** items are those acquired by succession from previous generations of the family – grandparents, older relatives, etc.[2] Half of the Actual Peasant items (54%, = 6 pieces) turned out to be inherited. **Self-made** objects are those created by respondents or their children, nearly a third of them (30% = 12 items) are Easter eggs displayed in glass cases, bowls or egg-stands. Objects **brought from family homes in Ukraine** belong to immigrants

[1] See column K in the Appendix.
[2] Some of the items associated with grandparents and other family members are described as "heirlooms" in those instances when objects were acquired under the will of the respondents – as opposed to be given as gifts.

(8 pieces). The **Other** category includes items acquired through the church, such as religious calendars and paper crosses. For the remaining 5% of the objects, interviewees can not remember or do not know the source of acquisition.

My classification and the calculated percentages closely match the findings of the study of cherished possessions in homes by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton. While analyzing sources of acquisition, they identify four major categories with corresponding percentages: purchased - 46%, gift - 30%, inherited - 9% and handcrafted – 9% (Csikszentmihalyi, Rochberg-Halton 288; Rochberg-Halton 175). The comparison of my analysis and their study reveals only slight variation, which suggests that these four categories may be the most common means of acquiring decorative objects for the home generally in North American culture.

Because "Purchased" and "Received as Gift" are the two best represented categories, I will discuss them below in greater detail.

5.1. Purchased

A thorough review of respondents' comments regarding purchased items allows me to identify a number of purchase sources.[1] Their frequency appears in the table below:

Table 7 Distribution of objects by sources of purchase.

Source of purchase	**Objects**
Craft store/market in Ukraine	11 (= 18)
Second-hand store / garage sale in Canada	7 (= 12)
Other	9 (= 16)
Unspecified	73 (= 125)
Total	*100 (= 171)*

[1] See column K in the Appendix.

Sources of purchase are **unspecified** in most instances (73%). The respondents can not recall or are not eager to specify where objects were purchased. The most frequently specified source, **"Craft store/market in Ukraine"** most often includes Imitation Peasant Art items – ceramics, woodwork and embroidery. Do they become material token representations of Ukraine in the Canadian Ukrainian community? The discussion of ethnic symbolism expressed by means of ethnic art objects follows in Chapter 8. Those purchased in **second-hand stores** or at **garage sales in Canada** tend to be miscellaneous non-peasant-based objects that are perceived by respondents as Ukrainian mostly thorough personal associations: a globe [Bo 2], icons [Pro 4], landscape paintings [Bab 12]. Most of them were acquired by Ukrainian immigrants, since shopping at garage sales and in thrift stores is an efficient economical means for new-comers to manage their expenses while establishing themselves in Canada. **Other** sources of purchase include antique shops, Ukrainian festival grounds, airports, etc.

5.2. Received as Gift

This is the second largest category among the objects whose means of acquisition is specified. Based on interviewees' responses, I sorted gifts by occasions for which they were given.[1] The findings are presented in the table below:

Table 8. Distribution of objects by gift-giving occasion.

Occasion	**Objects**
Wedding	16 (= 22)
Christmas	5 (= 7)
Other	9 (= 15)
Unspecified	70 (= 98)
Total	*100 (= 142)*

[1] See column K in the Appendix.

Similarly to the sources of purchase, the occasions for the majority of objects are **not specified**; the respondents prefer to refer to them as "just gifts from…" When they do mention the occasion, weddings and wedding anniversaries are the most frequently reported. The majority of objects associated with wedding are dried wedding breads followed by decal ceramics and Easter eggs. Wedding breads have already been discussed in Chapter 4 in regards to their new non-traditional function of permanent display. **Christmas** gifts include fridge magnets, woodwork and, paradoxically enough, Easter eggs (57% = 4 items). Easter eggs are the most popular items for gifts purchases at Christmas and Easter, according to the manager of the Ukrainian Book Store in Edmonton. What makes Easter eggs a perfect gift? They are colorful and appealing to the eye, they evoke admiration and appreciation of skillful work and have become highly visible icons of Ukrainian heritage in Canada. Although traditionally exchanged as gifts for Easter, they are now appreciated at Christmas which has become the most important occasion associated with gift-giving (see also Carrier 56). Wedding breads and Easter eggs illustrate how certain objects circulate in the contemporary urban settings beyond their traditional context. The **Other** gift category comprises such occasions as "birthday," "farewell," "retirement," "house-warming," etc.

Anthropological and folkloristic research has accumulated a large number of studies on the nature of gift exchange and gift-giving, theories and interpretations of gifts (Hyde; Mauss; Levi-Strauss). It has been recognized that gifts establish a bond of close connection between two people – the donor and the receiver. Gifts are often associated with those by whom they are given. As it is seen from the table 9, 77 % of all gift objects

included in this study are described in terms of the people they were received from. I identify the following of categories that describe the types of gift donors: [1]

Table 9. Distribution of objects by type of donor.

Donor	**Objects**
Friend	22 (= 31)
Relatives in Ukraine [2]	15 (= 21)
Mother	10 (= 14)
Children	8 (= 12)
Relatives in Canada [3]	7 (= 10)
Sister	4 (= 6)
Daughter	3 (= 4)
Grandmother	2 (= 3)
Other	6 (= 9)
Unspecified	23 (= 32)
Total	*100 (= 142)*

The numbers show that **"Friend"** is the most numerous group (23%). Donors-friends are both of Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian ethnic background. The other seven categories (**"Relatives in Ukraine"** through **"Grandmother"**) include family members. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton's study also finds that gifts are frequently associated with friends and family, thus suggesting a widespread importance of friendship and family ties (Rochberg-Halton 178). Several respondents in my study admit that they cherished certain objects because they are reminders of the donors – special people in respondents' lives.[4]

The table above reveals a prevalence of female donors – mothers, sisters, daughters, grandmothers as compared to very few mentions of fathers, grandfathers and none of brothers. Because women have long played a major role in the organization of

[1] Also see column K in the Appendix.
[2] "Relatives" refers to members of the kin that were not specifically identified by the respondent.
[3] See the footnote above.
[4] Chapter 6, par. 6.1.

the household and its decoration, it might be expected that they would choose decorative objects as gifts. **Other** donors were students, colleagues, etc.

5.3. Correlation Between Types of Art and Means of Acquisition

Now that the two best represented categories of means of acquisition have been discussed, I correlate them with types of art to find out if there is any significant interrelationship. Table 10 shows how types of art are distributed among each means of acquisition. Those percentages that I consider significant are highlighted in bold.

Table 10. Correlations between means of acquisition and type of art. Numbers read 100% across.

	Actual Peasant items	**Imitation Peasant Art**	**Peasant-Based Novelties**	**Fine Art**	**Miscellaneous Non-Peasant Art**	*Total*
Purchased	2 (= 3)	**44 (= 75)**	**11 (= 20)**	**29 (= 49)**	14 (= 24)	*100 (= 171)*
Received as gift	0	**52 (= 74)**	**27 (= 38)**	**6 (= 8)**	15 (= 22)	*100 (= 142)*
Total of all objects	*3 (= 11)*	*48 (199)*	*17 (= 70)*	*16 (= 66)*	*16 (= 65)*	*100 (= 411)*

Imitation Peasant objects are most likely to be purchased or given as gifts (respectively 44% and 52%), which can be explained by the overall prevalence of the above mentioned type of art (48% of all objects).[1] Peasant-Based Novelties are received as gifts more frequently (27%) than bought (11%); based on the data of my study only, I am not able to provide an explanation for this difference. Fine Art objects, on the other hand, are acquired more often as purchases (29%) than gifts (6%) because, perhaps, they are too expensive to be frequently given as presents.

[1] The importance of Imitation Peasant Art is discussed in several parts of the thesis: see Chapter 4, par. 4.2.; Chapter 6, par. 6.12; Chapter 7, par. 7.2.6.5 and 7.3.6.5.

CHAPTER SIX: MEANINGS

One of the main tasks of the project is to find out how respondents related to the art displayed in their homes.[1] My inquiries during interviews focused on eliciting responses regarding meanings of Ukrainian decorative objects to their owners. The respondents were asked whether particular objects were special to them and why. I used the word "special" as an umbrella term to denote "valuable," "significant," "meaningful," etc. Because "special" has such a broad meaning, the question was very open-ended and let respondents define what constituted the meaning of an object. At the same time, I was aware of certain limitations while inquiring about meanings. The analysis that follows reflects what the owners told me the art objects in their possession were valued for, which did not exclude the possibility of other unexpressed meanings. For example, the conclusion that 3% of all items are significant for their traditionality does not imply that the rest of the objects are not. It simply indicates that this meaning was not verbalized in relation to them during the interviews.[2] Because meanings are multi-leveled and complex, even in a single object, - as this chapter will demonstrate, - it could be expected that not all of them would be revealed in a single interview. The information provided in the interview can be understood as a general indication of the dominant meanings of the objects for the respondent.

As with the data discussed earlier, the responses on the significance of objects are classified and codified into 17 categories which comprise the domain of "Meaning."[3] The classification of meanings developed by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton for

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[1] See Research Question 8 in Chapter 1, p. 6.
[2] See par. 6.11.
[3] See column L in the Appendix.

their study of cherished possessions in the household is followed as a loose model (270-276). The devised categories are listed in the table below. They are arranged in what I think to be a logical order.

Table 11. Distribution of objects by meaning.

Category within the domain	**Meanings reported** [1]
People	27 (= 112)
Event	10 (= 39)
Personal experience	15 (= 59)
Social facilitator	9 (= 38)
Formal qualities	12 (= 49)
Part of collection	4 (= 18)
Religious	3 (= 13)
Utilitarian	4 (= 16)
Inexpensive	1 (= 5)
Expensive	0.2 (= 1)
Unique	4 (= 15)
Old	3 (= 13)
Authentic	3 (= 11)
Traditional	4 (= 15)
Ukrainian symbol	13 (= 54)
Subject matter of object	3 (= 11)
No significance	23 (= 93)
Total	*138.2 (= 562)*

The rest of the chapter is devoted to an in-depth discussion of each of the categories.

6.1. People

The largest meaning category associated with the displayed art (27%) refers to people who are regarded as important, special persons in the life of respondents. A similar observation is made in Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton's study: very often, respondents emphasize objects' capacity to remind of loved ones and friends rather than their intrinsic qualities or practical value (Rochberg-Halton 180). I have previously

[1] The percentages in this table total more than 100% because many objects are mentioned in regards to more than one category: e.g., a painting is special because of its vibrant color scheme and because it reminds of a very close friend.

touched on our ability as humans to ascribe symbolic meanings to objects and processes surrounding us.[1] It appears that the power of symbolizing that is projected onto things often manifests itself in establishing extra- spatial and temporal connections with people whom we consider significant. Who are objects in the domestic environment associated with? The table that follows elaborates on the types of people mentioned by the participants of my study, the categories are arranged in descending order:

Table 12. Distribution of objects by type of people they are associated with.

Type of people	**Meanings reported**
Relatives [2]	21 (= 24)
Children	21 (= 23)
Mother	18 (= 20)
Grandmother, great grandmother	14 (= 16)
Friend	11 (= 12)
Maker of object	9 (= 10)
Father	4 (= 4)
Grandfather, great grandfather	1.5 (= 2)
Husband	0.5 (= 1)
Total	*100 (= 112)*

Many of the people connected to the objects are directly related to the means of acquisition: 100% of inherited objects (= 11 items) and 37% of all gifts (= 52 items) – which accounts for 57% of all items in the "People" meaning category (= 63 items) – were highly valued as reminders of previous owners and gift-donors. Indirect associations are also frequent: for instance, a painting with an old woman painting an Easter-egg evokes memories of the owner's grandmother who was remembered for making Easter eggs every year [Yuz 5].

Several categories deserve additional comments. The largest one (23%) includes relatives, 50% (= 12 items) of these are relatives from Ukraine. The items given by them

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 2, par. 2.2.
[2] "Relatives" refers to other members of the kin that are not mentioned in the table.

are described as significant because received from Ukraine, the ancestral or geographic motherland and the place to which the respondents attribute their ethnic heritage.

The next largest categories are "Relatives" (22%), "Children" (22%) and "Mother" (20%). These are the best-represented specific categories, as opposed to the general term "Relatives" which embraces sisters, cousins, aunts, etc. Items associated with children and mothers were made by them, given as gifts or inherited (from the latter). Based on the meanings ascribed to objects displayed in the homes, children and mothers are the most significant gift-giving people in respondents' lives.

It is noteworthy that females are mentioned more often than males when placed in a special connection to objects - compare the categories of "Mother" (18%), "Grandmother, great grandmother" (14%) with "Father" (4%) and "Grandfather, great grandfather" (1.5%). In addition, most of the friends that certain items reminded of are referred to as female friends. Women have greater significance in regards to objects because they have long been associated with domestic environment and decoration of interior, and tend to give decorative items as gifts more often.[1]

The objects that remind people of their makers are mostly Fine Art; such artists as Larisa Cheladyn, Jacques Hnizdovsky, Vadim Dobrolige are presented in this category. The owners of such objects knew the artists personally or were connoisseurs of their work.

6.2. Event

10% of the displayed objects evoke memories of specific events in the life of the

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 3, par. 3.2, p. 17; Chapter 5, par. 5.2, p. 53.

respondents. A detailed list of the events mentioned in the interviews follows in table 13; the types of events are arranged in descending order:

Table 13. Distribution of objects associated with events by type of those events.

Type of event	**Meanings reported**
Wedding	56 (= 22)
Dance show	15 (= 6)
Retirement	8 (= 3)
House-warming	8 (= 3)
House-blessing	5 (= 2)
Other	8 (= 3)
Total	*100 (= 39)*

6.3. Personal Experience

Attribution of personal meaning to art objects is also sometimes connected with personal experience. 15% of all items (= 59 pieces) are highly valued because they remind respondents of particular times in the lives of respondents – e.g., an Easter egg evokes memories of preparing for Easter [Tym 1], a photoalbum acquired in Ukraine is associated with the time spent there [Yuz 2]. Because the interviewees themselves are making connections between personal experiences and Ukrainianness of objects, I am not always able to recognize the Ukrainian qualities of those items. As a result, 47% of this meaning category (= 28 items) are identified as Ukrainian by emic definition only.

Recollections of the past also arouse nostalgic feelings which are expressed as yearning for the return of the times gone by: for example, a painting by Peter Shostak of a scene of rural community life evokes an emotional response that reminded of one respondent's childhood years (figure 53, p. 91). Also, the past is associated with longing for the home in Ukraine, e.g., a glass cherry decoration triggered memories of the cherry

tree near the house in Ukraine [Sem15]. Such objects comprise 6% (= 25 items) of the total.

6.4. Social Facilitator

Certain objects are appreciated for their "socializing" capacity. Because they are kept on display, they are said to draw attention of visitors and to facilitate relaxed conversations. For instance, a century-old chest, an heirloom from grandparents who had carried their possessions in it to Canada, is placed in the centre of the living room and often inspires inquiries, expressions of surprise and admiration, etc. (figure 41, p. 61).

In some cases, displayed art objects not only arouse curiosity but also prompt owners to relate real-life anecdotes associated with their creation or acquisition. For example, my inquiries about the source of a decorative Hutsul axe on the wall evoke a story about a dispute with customs officers which is told in a lively manner (figure 12, p. 28).

The "socializing" capacity of objects is also connected to humor and referred to their appreciation as being funny and amusing. One of the respondents often shows visitors a so-called "Ukrainian novelty set" – self-made wooden gadgets of no practical application; what makes them Ukrainian is a label with the respective writing, e.g., "Ukrainian Chainsaw" (figure 42, p. 61) or "Ukrainian quarter-pounder" (figure 35, p. 40). According to the owner, these items are liked for their humorous interpretation of the "renowned resourcefulness of Ukrainians."

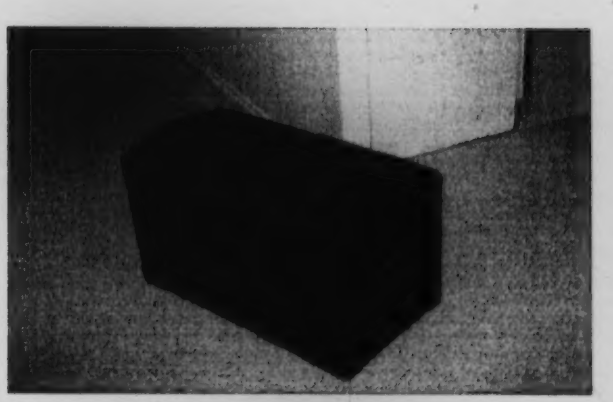

Figure 41. Chest (Pro1).

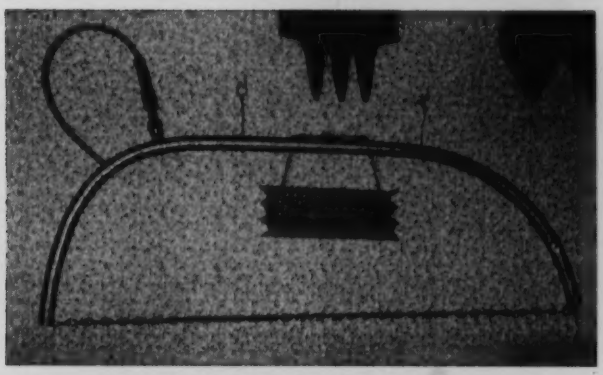

Figure 42. *Ukrainian Chain-Saw* (Wer 3).

6.5. Formal Qualities

One can expect that art would be highly valued for its visual appeal, the artist's skill or other formal features. However, study results only in 12% (= 49 items) of the decorative objects described as being appreciated mainly for their formal qualities, such as color scheme, medium, technique, shape and skillfulness of the artist. A similar pattern is observed in in Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton's study: only 16% of items described as "visual art" have special meaning because of their formal aesthetic values (65). It is noteworthy that in my study the recognition of visual attraction pertains to a wide range of objects - whisky bottles, tea-sets, ceramics, paintings, etc., whereas only 8% of these items (= 4 pieces) are classified as Fine Art. The other types of art in this meaning category are distributed with the following frequency: Imitation Peasant Art – 63% (= 31 items), Miscellaneous Non-Peasant Art – 23% (= 11 items) and Novelties – 6% (= 3 items). The low representation of Fine Art is surprising since this type of art is commonly perceived to be valued primarily for its formal aesthetics. Perhaps, Fine Art in common perception is associated with museums and galleries where its visual qualities are the focal point of audience' response and where personal connections to the displayed works are rarely significant. Fine Art displayed in private settings, in contrast, seems to more frequently evoke associations with people, events or experiences in the life of owners. Respondents' comments are directed to other than formal attributes of paintings and sculptures. The question might arise, what is Fine Art valued for then? [1] Appreciation of formal aesthetics accounts only for 6% of all Fine Art objects (= 4 items). Most frequently given responses are: associations with people (23% = 15 items), personal

[1] See Chapter 4, par. 4.2 for my definition of "Fine Art."

experience (21% = 14 items) and important symbols of Ukrainian culture (15% = 10 items).

Another fact also deserves attention: 55% of objects appreciated for their formal aesthetics were bought (= 27 items). By contrast, only 8% of all gifts (=11 items) are described as significant for their intrinsic visual features. This allows me to recognize a pattern: purchased art is more likely to be appreciated for its formal qualities than objects acquired in other ways, for example, gifts are more likely to be valued as reminders of their donors.

6.6. Part of Collection

A few objects (4%, = 18 items) are considered special because they belong to collections displayed in the homes. Six collections with six owners are identified. One collection is specifically Ukrainian – it consists of tapestries representing different ethnographic regions in Ukraine (figure 43, p. 64). The others have Ukrainian pieces as part of non-Ukrainian collections – for example, ceramic toy whistles from Ukraine or "perogy" fridge magnet are included in the general collections of whistles and fridge magnets (figures 44-45, p. 64).

6.7. Religious

Art valued for its religious meaning includes not only icons but also pussy-willows brought in for Palm Sunday and objects with religious motifs – for example crosses, prayers, churches (figures 46-49, p. 65).

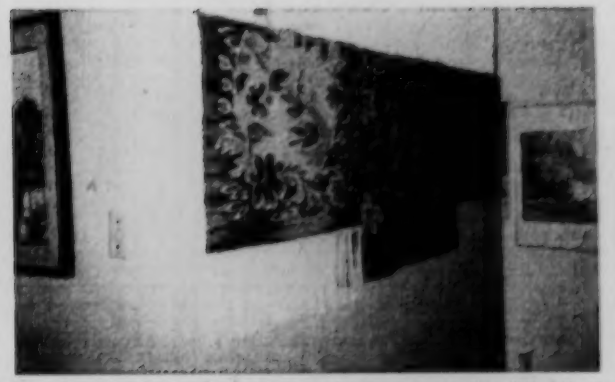

Figure 43. Collection of Ukrainian tapestries (Skr 8, 8a, 8b).

Figure 44. Collection of fridge magnets (Kay 2).

Figure 45. Collection of clay whistles (Skr 1).

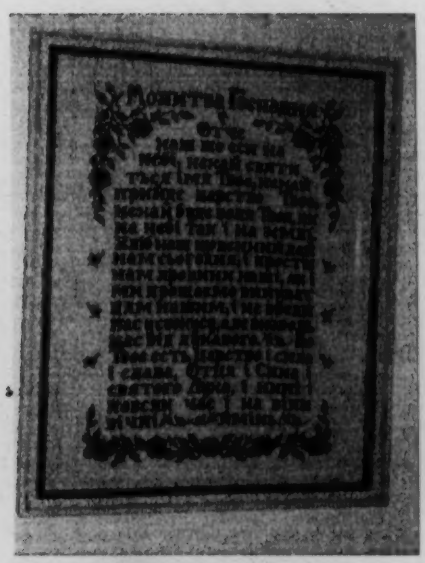

Figure 46. Embroidered prayer in Ukrainian (Kry 21).

Figure 48. Wooden cross (Kach 13).

Figure 47. Icon (Tsi 1), pussy-willow (Tsi 1a).

Figure 49. Embroidery of a cross (Op 9), embroidered towel (9a), pussy-willows (9b).

6.8. Utilitarian

Because some objects displayed in the homes are of both decorative and practical intent, a number of items are said to be valued for their utilitarian function, particularly: candle holders, fridge magnets, religious calendars. This category is apparently small – 4%, and it constitutes only 33% of all the objects still used for their utilitarian intent (= 14 items). I can not presume that the respondents do not acknowledge the practical function of the other 69% (= 29 items). Perhaps, the utilitarian value is obvious to the owners but is not stated explicitly, because they do not see it as a dominant meaning.

6.9. Inexpensive, Expensive

Certain responses refer to practical reasons for buying particular items – little money was involved. A few respondents admit that it was more economical to purchase embroidery or icons in Ukraine and bring them over, rather than to buy similar objects in Canada where they cost much more [Ben 2; Ho 7a].

On the other hand, one item (a painting) is brought to my attention as an expensive piece, its monetary value thus appearing as a significant feature (figure 25, p. 33).

6.10. Unique

Art described as unique embraces a diverse array of objects: from Hutsul ceramics to name-mugs and porcelain dolls in peasant costumes. As observed in the interviews, the expressed meanings of "unique" can imply both "one of a particular type" and "unusual."

6.11. Old, Authentic, Traditional

According to the description of the owners, items appreciated for their **age** include those which are half-of-century-or-more old. 54% of them (= 7 items) are Actual Peasant objects (for example, ceramic pots, a sickle, a chest).

3% of all objects are described as **"authentic"** – those are predominantly Imitation Peasant objects made in Ukraine, such as tapestry and Hutsul ceramics. Dictionary definitions of "authentic" often refer to this adjective as "original, real, first-hand, actual," "opposite to copied, pretended" (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* "Authentic"). Therefore, it would be logical to expect Actual Peasant items to be considered as authentic. However, none of the Actual Peasant objects are described using the word "authentic." Rather, this term is reserved predominantly for Imitation Peasant Art. This fact contradicts the dictionary definition, since "imitation" already implies "copied." The attribute of "authentic" was applied to folklore studies in the early 19th century with their focus on the natural unspoiled culture of peasants and search for true origins (Green, "Authentic"). The word has become an essential term in the folkloristic discourse and has acquired a strong connection to "peasant." The findings of my study show that "authentic" in popular perception is also applied to objects that could have been found in a peasant household but actually are replicas that only make references to peasant repertoire of the 19th century.

In a similar fashion, a few items (4%) are highly valued as "traditional," almost exclusively being Imitation Peasant Art – woodwork, Easter eggs, etc. The dictionary definition of tradition, refers to "a core set of traits handed down through succeeding generations," these traits are often identified with specific groups (Green, "Tradition").

According to responses collected in this study, art is "traditional" when it represents objects that would have been part of peasant's culture.[1]

6.12. Ukrainian Symbol

The second largest group of meanings (13%) refers to the perception of objects as symbols of Ukrainian culture.[2] This category is best represented by Imitation Peasant Art (43%, = 23 items) followed by Fine Art (19%, = 10 items) and Novelties (17% = 9 items) What makes art symbolic of Ukrainianness? Based on the gathered responses, a few factors are recognized as important in the construction of Ukrainian symbolism, including: a) genre, e.g., pottery, embroidery, woodwork, musical instruments (bandura); b) technique, for example, Hutsul inlay wood-carving style; c) subject matter - representations and motifs of poppies, wheat, sunflowers, sheep, peasants, Shevchenko, etc. 42% of the objects described as Ukrainian by emic definition only(= 22 items) are regarded as such because they dealt with the above mentioned subject matter. Interestingly enough, during the visits I did not recognize the Ukrainian symbolism in these items, probably, because I discerned traditional genres and techniques first rather than subject matter.

Most of those factors are attributes of Imitation Peasant Art and make references to Ukrainian peasant culture of a particular time frame – the second half of the 19th century. Why is peasant symbolism so important in Ukrainian cultural representation? An explanation can be found in the history of the national movement in Ukraine and the development of national consciousness. According to Orest Subtelny, it was not until the

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[1] Cross-reference: see my definition of "traditional" in Chapter 4, par. 4.2.
[2] Cross-reference: see my definition of "symbol" in footnote 1, p. 14.

19th century that the new concept of nationhood based on ethnic culture evolved and started to spread (222). The concept had its roots in the widespread ideas of the German philosopher Johann Herder who contrasted the "artificial," "degrading" society of royalty and nobility and the "natural vibrant" culture of the common people. In his view, a people's unique cultural characteristics had to be sought out in the authentic, unspoiled and rich culture of peasants (Subtelny 228). These ideas found a strong resonance among Ukrainian intellectuals (intelligentsia) in both Eastern and Western Ukraine. Their interest in folklore also grew due to the increasing enstrangement from the imperial establishment coinciding with the Russian dominance in Eastern Ukraine, and Polish in Western Ukraine. Turning to their own people meant turning to peasantry, since 90% of Ukraine's population of the time was rural (Subtelny 269). One of the most wide-spread activities of intellectuals to build links to peasants was the study of folklore – collecting and writing ethnographic accounts of oral lore, customs, art, material culture, etc. Folklore was viewed as the most prominent feature of a distinctively Ukrainian culture and later, as the national movement developed and expanded, as a fundamental element in the construction of not only ethnic but also national identity. Besides, rapid industrialization and the growth of factory production in the second half of the1800s started to oust certain home-based practices (e.g., pottery and embroidery), and the advocates of traditional culture strove to document the crafts and objects that might soon disappear. Peasant art, such as embroidery, Easter-eggs, woodwork, ceramics, was marveled at and praised; the themes of poppies, wheat, sheep, roosters, being common in the oral tradition, were accentuated and brought to the fore of the symbolic "arsenal" to boost Ukrainianness. The process of building national consciousness turned to become a

two-way avenue. According to John-Paul Himka, the national movement introduced changes into peasants' self-perception. The attributes of folk culture that intellectuals selected and transformed into national symbols were then returned to peasants through education and propaganda, to become integrated and re-absorbed in somewhat new forms. Those attributes, collected, codified, annotated and printed by the leaders of the nation-building movement, acquired new significance as "self-differentiating symbols" (Himka 196). In other words, the common people began to recognize them as important distinctive features of their culture. As the Ukrainian national movement grew into the 20th century, it continued to carry the created symbols as tools to augment ethnic and national awareness and identity among both intellectuals and folk. The national ideas expanded not only temporally but also spatially with consequent waves of Ukrainian emigration to other countries, including Canada. The legacy of the visual symbolism is still alive and strong among the contemporary Ukrainians in both Ukraine and diaspora, as it is exemplified by the array of Ukrainian Peasant Imitation art observed in the interiors of established Ukrainian-Canadians and immigrant Ukrainians that took part in my study.

Among objects ascribed the symbolic meaning of Ukrainianness, miscellaneous items with no connections to peasant culture are mentioned as well, for example, a wooden eagle [Ben 3] or a "Svitoch" chocolates box [Bab 20]. Such objects are said to represent Ukraine, but the nature of their symbolism is different: Ukraine is perceived not as a cultural notion or a "repository" of ethnic heritage but rather homeland, place of birth and many years of life experience. The wooden eagle is recognized as a typical object to be displayed in many homes in Ukraine, and the "Svitoch" sweets are proudly regarded

as "the best chocolates of all times, number one," both items belong to immigrant respondents and trigger vivid memories of Ukraine.

It is observed in the course of fieldwork that art's capacity to represent Ukrainianness in material form is directly related to its owners' understanding of their ethnicity. While giving reasons for displaying certain objects, some respondents also emphasize the fact that they are of the same ethnic background. In other words, they keep and display Ukrainian art because they themselves are Ukrainian. These comments are observed in 22 instances (= 5% of the total). In some cases, respondents draw explicit links between the objects, Ukrainian symbolism and Ukrainian identity: for example, when asked about the glass case with Easter eggs in her living-room, one interviewee states that she purchased them to honor her culture in a significant way. Several respondents also point at certain decorative objects that "all Ukrainians should have in their homes" – Hutsul triple candle-holders, decal ceramics with cross-stitch designs and embroidered towels. The owners connect their ethnic identity mostly with peasant-based objects in the data sample, probably because of the heavy emphasis on peasant symbolism in the perception of Ukrainian heritage which has been discussed earlier. However, other types of art are observed to act as identity markers as well: for instance, one respondent says that she has a fridge magnet with the writing "Ukrainian kitchen" because she is Ukrainian. Therefore, the conclusion is drawn that Ukrainian decorative objects, apart from having other meanings, can be appreciated for their capacity to reinforce Ukrainian identity and to make a statement about owners' ethnicity in a visually

expressive way.[1]

6.13. Subject Matter

Besides formal aesthetics, other intrinsic qualities are of special value as well, particularly, subject matter that the objects dealt with. Commenting on a painting with mushrooms, the owner says that "she just likes mushrooms" [Ho 13]. Similar responses concern 3% of all objects (= 11 items), they display the themes of poppies and sheep.

6.14. No Significance

No special meanings are revealed by the owners for 23% of all objects. Most of them were purchased, and others – were acquired as gifts, but with no significant connection to donors. A number of reasons could be suggested for the absence of comments of significance for these items: 1) they indeed do not bear any special value; 2) meanings are too private to be disclosed to an outsider; 3) objects evoke polysemic associations and respondents are unsure of which one to mention; 4) owners implicitly consider those objects special but perhaps did not verbalize reasons for their appreciation during interviews.

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 8, par. 8.3.

CHAPTER SEVEN: OBJECTS AND THEIR OWNERS

7.1. Characteristics of the Owners of Art Objects.

The sample of people in this study is designed to explore relations to Ukrainian art objects by different subgroups within the Ukrainian-Canadian community.[1] First, .immigration history are taken into consideration. Part of Research Question 7 is based on the hypotheses that established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants might display different art objects that were acquired from different sources and ascribed different meanings. Therefore, the first "dimension" of the sample involves 18 established Ukrainian-Canadians and 7 immigrants from Ukraine who together comprise the so-called **"Sample Plane I."**

Second, I hypothesize that Ukrainians actively partaking in the life of the Ukrainian community and those involved "marginally," or passively, might decorate the public spaces of their homes differently. As a result, the second "dimension" is based on the degree of involvement in the Ukrainian community, and the sample examined from this angle is divided into two categories – Active and Passive Ukrainians, – thus making up **"Sample Plane II."**

While organizing the sample into Plane II, I recognize the need to determine the criteria that would enable to systematically evaluate the degree of respondents' involvement in the ethnic community. Isajiw's system of parameters to measure ethnic identity is used as a model. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, he approaches ethnic identity as a complex phenomenon encompassing many aspects which comprise two major groups – external and internal. While internal aspects refer to images, ideas, attitudes and feelings,

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[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 1, p. 6, Research Question 7.

external aspects pertain to observable behavior, both social and cultural (*Ethnic Identity Retention* 3-4). The discussion in this chapter is concerned with external aspects because they include participation in the ethnic community. Such aspects involve speaking the ethnic language, practicing ethnic traditions, participating in ethnic association and activities, etc. My criteria to measure the observable ethnic behavior of respondents include the following components: occupation related to Ukrainian community/affairs, Ukrainian marital partner, proficiency in the Ukrainian language, participation in Ukrainian religious and cultural activities, membership in Ukrainian voluntary organizations/institutions, involvement with Ukrainian art (collecting or creating), knowledge of Ukrainian cultural heritage, participation in Ukrainian personal networks, active family ties with Ukraine. I describe each of my respondents with regards to these criteria.

My personal connection to the key participants provided me with relevant information on their involvement in Ukrainian activities and on the people they referred me to. In addition, I used interviews to fill in the gaps and collect necessary facts by asking respondents about their participation in the community. In this way, a profile for each interviewee was created, all the individuals are tested on the above mentioned criteria – either "yes" or "no." The findings are summarized in table 14 on the page that follows. Those interviewees that score 5 and more "yes" answers are called "Active Ukrainians," and those with 4 or less positive responses – "Passive Ukrainians."

It turns out that Active Ukrainians are much easier to find through the convenience and snowball sampling methods, since their involvement in cultural and

Table 14. Criteria to evaluate respondents' Active/Passive status in the Edmonton Ukrainian community.

N	Name code [1]	Estab-lished/ Immi-grant	Occupa tional background related to Ukr. affairs	Ukr. marital partner	Profici-ency in Ukrai-nian [2]	Participation in Ukr. religious and cultural activities [3]	Participation in Ukr. voluntary organizations/ institutions [4]	Involve-ment in Ukr. art [5]	Knowledge of Ukr. cultural heritage [6]	Ukr. personal network [7]	Active family ties with Ukraine	Number of positive scores → Active/ Passive Status
1	Ba	Est	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	6 → Active
2, 3	Bab	Imm	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	8 → Active
4	Ben	Imm	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes	4 → Passive
5	Bo	Imm	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	4 → Passive
6	Di	Est	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	1 → Passive
7	Ho	Est	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	8 → Active
8	Hor	Est	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	9 → Active
9	Jo	Est	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	5 → Active
10	Kach	Est	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	7→ Active
11	Kay	Est	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	0 → Passive
12	Kry	Est	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	9 → Active
13	Lo	Est	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	3 → Passive
14	Mak	Est	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	9 → Active
15	Op	Est	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	9 → Active
16	Pro	Est	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	1 → Passive
17	Ro	Est	no	n/a	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	2 → Passive
18	Sem	Imm	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	9 → Active
19	Skr	Est	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	9 → Active
20	Sla	Imm	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	8 → Active
21	Tsi	Imm	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	7 → Active
22	Tym	Est	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	3 → Passive
23	Vin	Est	yes	n/a	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no	6 → Active
24	Wer	Est	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	2 → Passive
25	Yuz	Est	no	n/a	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	6 → Active

[1] Each respondent was assigned a code as a result of the arbitrary abbreviation of the name.
[2] This criterion is relevant for both established Ukrainian-Canadians and immigrants, since Ukrainian is one of the two commonly spoken languages in Ukraine (the other is Russian), and not everybody in Ukraine speaks Ukrainian
[3] This category includes attendance at Ukrainian church, cultural events, community functions, etc.
[4] Such as involvement with Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada, Ukrainian Canadian Youth Association, Ukrainian dance groups; enrollment of children in the Ukrainian bilingual program, etc.
[5] The relationship to art includes making or collecting any kind of Ukrainian art.
[6] Knowledge is acquired through formal and self-education or the experience of Ukrainian heritage alive (e.g., observing and participating in traditional customs)
[7] Participation in extensive personal network with Ukrainians is implied.

other Ukrainian networks makes them very visible in the Ukrainian community, and therefore they are more likely to be suggested by people referring me to potential respondents. On the contrary, Passive respondents are more difficult to locate because they are not as accessible to me through those networks. The selection and evaluation results in 16 Active and 9 Passive Ukrainians.

The number of respondents for each category in the two Planes are converted into percentages that are shown in the table below:

Table 15. Distribution of respondents within the two Sample Planes.

	Sample Plane II % (= number of people) ↓		
Sample Plane I % (= number of people) ↓	**Active**	**Passive**	**Total for Sample Plane I**
Established Canadian-Ukrainians	44 (= 11)	28(= 7)	**72 (= 18)**
Immigrants	20 (= 5)	8 (= 2)	**28 (= 7)**
Total for Sample Plane II	**64 (= 16)**	**36 (= 9)**	100 (= 25)

The rest of this chapter is concerned with the "structural" level of data analysis and focuses on relationships between Ukrainian art objects and their owners. I will closely examine statistical correlations between the four categories of the two Sample Planes and objects in six domains.[1] The findings are connected with Research Question 7.

The first step in generating correlations is to calculate distribution of objects between the two Sample Planes:

[1] "Domain" and "structural" levels of data analysis are discussed in Chapter 4, par. 4.1.

Table 16. Distribution of objects between the two Sample Planes.

	Sample Plane H % (= number of objects) ↓		
Sample Plane I % (= number of objects) ↓	**Active**	**Passive**	**Total for Sample Plane I**
Established Canadian-Ukrainians	64 (= 263)	11(= 46)	**75 (= 309)**
Immigrants	22 (= 92)	3 (= 10)	**25 (= 102)**
Total for Sample Plane II	**86 (= 355)**	**14 (= 56)**	100 (= 411)

The distribution of objects within each sample plane is not evenly balanced as a result of unequal representation of the sample groups. The comparison of the tables 15 and 16 allows to see that the percentage of people in Sample Plane I approximates the percentage of objects owned by them: established Ukrainian-Canadians comprise 72% of the sample and own 75% of objects. In contrast, the correlation for Sample Plane II does not come as close to equation: Active Ukrainians constitute 64% of the sample but own 86% of objects.[1] This disproportion is easy to explain if we agree that possession of Ukrainian art is part of observable ethnic behavior and involvement in the ethnic community, and therefore, the Active should be expected to own more Ukrainian art objects.

7.2. Sample Plane I: Established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants.

The body of the analysis is based on statistics showing the distribution of objects by the six domains – emic/etic definition of "Ukrainian," type of art, geographical origin,

[1] The number of Ukrainian items in the possession of the Active would have been bigger had I obtained the exact number of objects displayed in residents' homes. Those were the homes of Active Ukrainians with plenty of Ukrainian art where I documented the majority of but not all objects due to time constraints. Cross-reference: footnote 2 on p. 35.

function, means of acquisition and meaning – as they are distributed in relation to Sample Plane I: established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants. The correlations between all domains except "Meaning" [1] and each sample group are interpreted in comparison to the correlation between all objects owned by established Ukrainian-Canadians and immigrants (respectively 75% and 25%). The percentages of 75/25 are considered neutral and deviations from this ratio indicate over- and underrepresentation. For instance, 86 % of Fine Art belongs to established Ukrainian-Canadian respondents as opposed to 75% of all objects owned by them (see table 18, p. 80); based on the proportion of 86/14 and 75/25, I observe that established Ukrainian-Canadians tend to own relatively more Fine Art than immigrants.

In order to measure statistical significance of differences in the six domains with greater precision, I initially used the method of the chi-square distribution thoroughly described by Ted Palys (337-341, 404). However, in several instances numbers were too low to determine statistical significance.[2] Also, although differences in a number of comparisons were statistically significant with the probability of 0.5, I was unable to explain them.[1] Therefore, I choose to discuss those disparities which I recognize as significant or noteworthy and for which have an explanation. In order to maintain clarity of the comparison, the total of objects owned by each group of the Sample Plane I is repeated in all tables that follow.

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[1] The numbers for the "Meaning" domain are compared to the totals of meaning reported – see table 24, par. 7.2.6.

[2] For example, see tables 22-23. Palys recommends a minimum of 5-10 items expected in any category before the chi-square calculations can be applied (339).

7.2.1. Sample Plane I and Definition of "Ukrainian"

Initially, the two sample groups are correlated with the emic and etic definitions of Ukrainian art objects. The findings appear in the table below:

Table 17. Distribution of objects by etic/emic definition of "Ukrainian" between established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants.

Definition of Ukrainian	**Established Ukrainian-Canadians**	**Immigrants**	*Total*
Ukrainian by etic definition	78 (= 242)	22 (= 66)	*100 (= 308)*
Ukrainian by emic definition only	64 (= 67)	36 (= 36)	*100 (= 103)*
Total	*75 (= 309)*	*25 (= 102)*	*100 (= 411)*

As the percentages show, objects that are Ukrainian by etic definition are closely balanced between the established Ukrainian-Canadians and immigrants as compared to the proportion of all objects owned by these two groups: respectively 78/22 and 75/25. On the other hand, art considered Ukrainian by emic definition only is observed more frequently among Ukrainian-born respondents (36%). These are the items that are not recognized by me as having "Ukrainian" qualities, but are described as such by the interviewees. For Ukrainian immigrants, certain objects are perceived as Ukrainian because they were made and/or purchased in Ukraine and become symbols of Ukraine as the motherland even if they do not have easily identifiable ethnic features – for example, a globe or a tea-set. [2]

7.2.2. Sample Plane I and Type of Art

The following table shows how the different types of art are distributed between the two sample categories:

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[1] See the comparisons of the meaning categories of "Part of collection" and "No significance" in table 24.
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.12, p. 70.

Table 18. Distribution of objects by type of art between established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants.

Type of art	**Established Ukrainian-Canadians**	**Immigrants**	*Total*
Actual Peasant items	27 (= 3)	73 (= 8)	*100 (= 11)*
Imitation Peasant Art	73 (= 144)	27 (= 55)	*100 (= 199)*
Peasant-Based Novelty	86 (= 60)	14 (= 10)	*100 (= 70)*
Fine Art	86 (= 57)	14 (= 9)	*100 (= 66)*
Miscellaneous Art	68 (= 45)	32 (= 20)	*100 (= 65)*
Total	*75 (= 309)*	*25 (= 102)*	*100 (= 411)*

The numbers indicate that most of the Actual Peasant items are owned by Ukrainian immigrants (73%), a strong contrast to the neutral distribution. One might suggest that the owners had easier access to the objects originating from the country they had lived in (for example, heirlooms kept in the family or items purchased from villagers directly). However, because 6 items (out of 8 in the possession of the immigrants) are owned by one person, I can not generalize that Actual Peasant objects are more frequent among all interviewed immigrants. The distribution of Imitation Peasant Art (73/27) is not surprising since it closely matches the percentages of all objects belonging to each of the two sample categories (75/ 25). In the ownership of Peasant-Based Novelties, however, immigrants are noticeably underrepresented – 14% as compared to the neutral 25%. While conducting interviews and through other experiences, I observed that Ukrainian immigrants do not favor the art that exploits "traditional" themes and motifs but are not "traditional" themselves (for example, Easter-egg fridge magnets, ceramics with cross-stitch decals). On the other hand, immigrants tend to own more Miscellaneous Art (32% as compared to the neutral 25%), which suggests that peasant-based art might not bear as much of symbolic meaning for them as it does for established Ukrainian-Canadians.[1]

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.12; also par. 7.2.6.5.

As far as Fine Art is concerned, it is perhaps more affordable to established Ukrainian-Canadians (86%) who are better-off financially and whose budgets allow them to purchase more expensive decorative objects.

7.2.3. Sample Plane I and Geographical Origin

Subsequently, the two sample categories are correlated with geographical sources of the objects. The findings are presented below:

Table 19. Distribution of objects by geographical origin between established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants.

Geographical origin	**Established Ukrainian-Canadians**	**Immigrants**	*Total*
Ukrainian	55 (= 91)	45 (= 73)	*100 (= 164)*
Non-Ukrainian	88 (= 199)	12 (= 29)	*100 (= 228)*
Unknown	100 (= 19)	0	*100 (= 19)*
Total	*75 (= 309)*	*25 (= 102)*	*100 (= 411)*

The percentages show that immigrants from Ukraine tend to own more items made in or brought from Ukraine than their Canadian counterparts (45% as compared to the neutral 25%). On the other hand, established Ukrainian-Canadians are over-represented in the ownership of objects made in or brought from elsewhere (88% comparing to the neutral 75%). Immigrants' display of art made in or brought from Ukraine can be accounted for by their easier access to objects from the home-country, their nostalgic meaning and greater affordability – for example, one of the immigrant respondents notes that it is much cheaper to bring decorative objects from Ukraine than to buy art in Canada [Tsi 1]. Established Ukrainian-Canadians, in their turn, tend to own art of non-Ukrainian origin, most of which was purchased or acquired in North America. Those objects include Ukrainian art that was made or finished in Canada and has become an artistic means of ethnic expression specific to the Ukrainian Canadian community –

for instance, works by Peter Shostak or Larisa Cheladyn, or decal ceramics with red-and-black cross-stitch designs. All items of unknown sources belong to established Ukrainian-Canadians. Perhaps, recent immigrants tend to possess fewer objects and therefore are more clear as to the origins of what they do own.

7.2.4. Sample Plane I and Function

The analysis of the multifaceted relationship between people and their possessions is further pursued through examining the division of objects by function. The results are presented in the following table:

Table 20. Distribution of objects by function between established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants.

Function	**Established Ukrainian-Canadians**	**Immigrants**	*Total*
Decorative by intent	75 (= 209)	25 (= 69)	*100 (= 278)*
Decorative and other functions by intent: now display only	81 (= 57)	19 (= 12)	*100 (= 69)*
Decorative and other functions	72 (= 31)	28 (= 12)	*100 (= 43)*
Metamorphosed art	57 (= 12)	43 (= 9)	*100 (= 21)*
Total	*75 (= 309)*	*25 (= 102)*	*100 (= 411)*

The numbers indicate that there are no significant deviations from the 75/25 proportion in the functions of "decorative by intent" and "decorative and other functions." I find it noteworthy that established Ukrainian-Canadians tend to keep only on display more objects intended for decorative and other purposes (81% of those on display only compared to the neutral 75%). These 81% include the earlier described wedding breads and sheaves.[1] Although traditionally not meant for permanent display, these items are perceived as remarkable attributes of Ukrainian culture and become important symbols of

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 4, par. 4.4, p. 44.

ethnicity in Canada for their uniqueness. Such objects are not observed in the homes of Ukrainian immigrants, probably because in Ukraine they would have been consumed according to more traditional use and not preserved for decoration of their home interiors.

The numbers for the category of metamorphosed art indicate a significant deviation from the neutral distribution of objects between established Ukrainian-Canadians and immigrants (57/43 as compared to 75/25). Immigrants tend to have more metamorphosed art than established Ukrainian-Canadians. However, this observation cannot be generalized for all immigrants involved in the study but only for a couple of respondents who choose to objects that were originally not intended as decorative.

7.2.5. Sample Plane I and Means of Acquisition

Similarly to the object categories described above, means of acquisition are correlated with the two sample groups to find out whether established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants acquire decorative objects differently. The findings are displayed in the following table:

Table 21. Distribution of objects by means of acquisition between established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants.

Means of acquisition	**Established Ukrainian-Canadians**	**Immigrants**	*Total*
Purchased	74 (= 125)	26 (= 46)	*100 (= 171)*
Received as gift	84 (= 119)	16 (= 23)	*100 (= 142)*
Inherited	70 (= 19)	30 (= 8)	*100 (= 27)*
Self-made	64 (= 25)	36 (= 14)	*100 (= 39)*
Brought from the family home in Ukraine	0	100 (= 8)	*100 (= 8)*
Other	100 (= 2)	0	*100 (= 2)*
Unknown	86 (= 19)	14 (= 3)	*100 (= 22)*
Total	*75 (= 309)*	*25 (= 102)*	*100 (= 411)*

The numbers referring to purchased (74/26) and inherited objects (70/30) do not reveal significant deviations from the neutral 75/25, which suggests that these means of acquisition are evenly divided between the two sample groups. Established Ukrainian-Canadians display proportionally more Ukrainian objects received as gifts than the immigrants (84/16); this difference will be explained in the discussion of gifts that follows in paragraph 7.2.5.2. Established Ukrainian-Canadians are under-represented with self-made objects (64% as compared to 75% of the total owned by them). However, they own 90% of all self-made Easter eggs (= 11items). This observation can be accounted for by the wide-spread practice of certain traditional Ukrainian arts in the Canadian Ukrainian community, particularly Easter-egg making. As I have already mentioned and will discuss further later, involvement in traditional ethnic arts is reported to be one of the most common means to maintain ethnicity for those who were born or have established themselves in diaspora.[1]

A small number of objects (= 8) was brought by immigrants from the home in Ukraine; these items account for 2% of the total of all objects used in the study.

7.2.5.1. Sample Plane I and Purchases

The next step in the discussion of differences in the acquisition of art objects is to correlate the sample groups with the two main means – purchases and gifts. The following table presents findings indicating the sources of purchase. The percentages for the totals of purchased items are considered neutral.

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 2, par. 2.3 and 2.4; Chapter 8, par. 8.4.

Table 22. Distribution of objects by source of purchase between established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants.

Source of purchase	**Established Ukrainian-Canadians**	**Immigrants**	*Total*
Craft store/market in Ukraine	44 (= 8)	56 (= 10)	*100 (= 18)*
Second hand store/garage-sale in Canada	42 (= 5)	58 (= 7)	*100 (= 12)*
Other	75 (= 12)	25 (= 4)	*100 (= 16)*
Unspecified	80(= 100)	20 (= 25)	*100 (= 125)*
Total	*74 (= 125)*	*26 (= 46)*	*100 (= 171)*

Ukrainian immigrants seem to be over-represented in the acquisition of art through purchases in craft stores or at craft markets in Ukraine (56% as compared to the neutral 26%). These objects are Imitation Peasant Art; they become material markers of ethnicity in the host country and acquire an added value because considered "authentic" and "traditional." [1] At the same time, traditional Ukrainian art is more affordable for immigrants to buy in Ukraine than in Canada where it costs much more. Similarly, immigrants are over-represented in the display of art objects acquired through second-hand stores and garage sales, probably because, as stated earlier in Chapter 5, low-cost purchases – from appliances to decorative items – are essential for the limited budget of new-comers from Ukraine.

7.2.5.2. Sample Plane I and Gifts

Noteworthy differences are observed in the comparison of the two major occasions on which established Ukrainian-Canadians and immigrants receive Ukrainian art objects as gifts. The percentages for the totals of gift items (84/16) are considered neutral.

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.11.

Table 23. Distribution of objects by gift-giving occasion between established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants.

Occasion	**Established Ukrainian-Canadians**	**Immigrants**	*Total*
Wedding	86 (= 19)	14 (= 3)	*100 (= 22)*
Christmas	100 (= 7)	0	*100 (= 7)*
Other	85 (= 12)	15 (= 3)	*100 (= 15)*
Unspecified	83 (= 81)	17 (= 17)	*100 (= 98)*
Total	*84 (= 119)*	*16 (= 23)*	*100 (= 142)*

The numbers for the categories of "Wedding" and "Other" matched the neutral. Established Ukrainian-Canadians are exclusive owners of Christmas gifts, most of which, as described earlier, are Easter eggs Ukrainian immigrants tend to approach gift-giving occasions in a more pragmatic way; one respondent comments that they [immigrants] prefer objects of practical application for gift exchange, "something that you need or can use." On the other hand, the wealthier established Ukrainian-Canadian more frequently choose non-utilitarian objects, and ethnicity is viewed a factor in picking an appropriate item for a gift-giving occasion – thus, Ukrainian art becomes a suitable gift for somebody of Ukrainian heritage.

Although the differences of percentages in the categories "Purchased" and "Gift" are noteworthy, the actual number of items matching each percentage is low, which results in less confidence in the validity of my conclusions. A larger data sample is needed to test of the findings made here.

7.2.6. Sample Plane I and Meanings

One of the hypotheses that drives this project is that different types of people, in this case established Ukrainian-Canadians and immigrant Ukrainians, attach different meanings to the art displayed in their homes. In order to address this hypothesis, the

distribution of the meaning categories is compared for established Ukrainian-Canadians and immigrants. A total of 562 meanings were offered and a ratio of 77%/23% is considered neutral.

Table 24. Distribution of meanings between established Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants.

Meanings	**Established Ukrainian-Canadians**	**Immigrants**	*Total*
People	83 (= 93)	17 (= 19)	*100 (= 112)*
Event	87 (= 34)	13 (= 5)	*100 (= 39)*
Personal experience	51 (= 30)	59 (= 29)	*100 (= 59)*
Social facilitator	92 (= 35)	8 (= 3)	*100 (= 38)*
Formal qualities of object	76 (= 37)	24 (= 12)	*100 (= 49)*
Part of collection	94 (= 17)	6 (= 1)	*100 (= 18)*
Religious	73 (= 9)	27 (= 4)	*100 (= 13)*
Utilitarian	75 (= 12)	25 (= 4)	*100 (= 16)*
Inexpensive	60 (= 3)	40 (= 2)	*100 (= 5)*
Expensive	100 (= 1)	0	*100 (= 1)*
Unique	60 (= 9)	40 (= 6)	*100 (= 15)*
Old	38 (= 5)	62 (= 8)	*100 (= 13)*
Authentic	91 (= 10)	9 (= 1)	*100 (= 11)*
Traditional	87 (= 13)	13 (= 2)	*100 (= 15)*
Ukrainian symbol	89 (= 48)	11 (= 6)	*100 (= 54)*
Subject matter of object	100 (= 11)	0	*100 (= 11)*
No significance	68 (= 63)	32 (= 30)	*100 (= 93)*
Total	*77 (430)*	*23 (132)*	*100 (= 562)*

While all meaning categories are compared in the table, only selected ones for which I can provide an explanation are included in the discussion that follows below.

7.2.6.1. Sample Plane I and "People," "Event"

More objects appear as significant reminders of people established Ukrainian-Canadians (83%) than for immigrants (17%), as compared to the neutral of 77/23. Similarly, events tend to be mentioned more often by established Ukrainian-Canadians (87%). Since many objects serving as reminders of people and most of those associated

with events came as gifts, there is a direct correlation between the distribution of gifts and the distribution of these two meaning categories. In other words, because established Ukrainian-Canadians receive more Ukrainian gifts (84%), connection of objects to the donors and occasions are mentioned more frequently.[1]

A particular type of people associated with displayed art, particularly, makers of the objects, deserves special attention. 9% of items in the "People" category (= 10 pieces) are valued as reminders of their makers, and all of these by established Ukrainian-Canadians.[2] These objects are predominantly Fine Art which is more affordable for established Ukrainian-Canadians; besides, the makers are of diaspora origin or became known outside Ukraine, e.g., Jacques Hnizdovsky, Vadim Dobrolige, and therefore might not be well-known to Ukrainian immigrants.

7.2.6.2. Sample Plane I and "Personal Experience"

Ukrainian immigrants tend to associate objects with personal experience more often then established Ukrainian-Canadians (49% as compared to the neutral of 23% of meanings expressed by them). Their recollections of past experiences are often penetrated by nostalgic longing for the home and family in Ukraine, for example, a painting with a Lviv scene evokes memories of the native city, and a porcelain tea-set is a reminder of the years growing up in the parents' home (figures 50-51, p. 89).

I am surprised to see that 30% of items belonging to the immigrants and associated with Ukrainian experience (= 9 pieces) were not made in or brought from Ukraine. For example, a painting with a mountain lake and a fisherman from an

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[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.1; par. 7.2.5.2.
[2] See the appropriate meaning code in column L in the Appendix.

Figure 50. Painting of a Lviv scene (Sla 13).

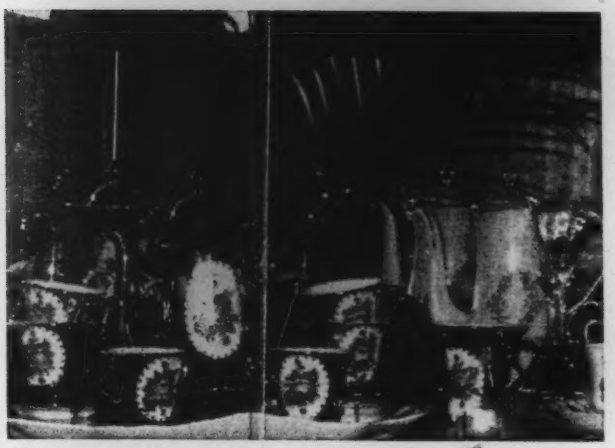

Figure 51. Gilded porcelain tea-set (Ben 2).

Edmonton thrift-store is said to resemble native Carpathian scenery, and "the fisherman looks like a Hutsul" [Bab 12].[1]

As to established Ukrainian-Canadians, their memories of the past triggered by displayed art objects are remarkable for frequent allusions to the experience of growing up on the farm (43% of objects owned by them and associated with personal experience, = 9 items); for instance, a fridge magnet with a farm scene or a painting of prairie countryside (figures 52-53, p. 91; also figures 25-26, p. 33). Such responses provide another example of the multi-faceted "Ukrainian" quality of objects: they call forth memories of personal experience, and countryside scenery makes references to peasant farming environment.[2]

7.2.6.3. Sample Plane I and "Social Facilitator"

Established Ukrainian-Canadians tend to express an appreciation of art objects for their "socializing" capacity more often (92% of all items in this meaning category as opposed to the neutral 77%). Such conversation pieces include a wide array of objects – Fine Art, Imitation-Peasant Art, Peasant-Based Novelties. Because Ukrainian-Canadians are one of the many ethnic groups comprising Canadian society, the visual attributes of their culture, art objects particularly, could be of interest and curiosity to non-Ukrainians and/or those not very familiar with Ukrainian heritage. Such people socialize closely with established Ukrainian-Canadians and non-Ukrainians, whereas Ukrainian immigrants, perhaps, tend to stay more within the network of their countrymen.

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[1] This instance helps to once again emphasize the difference between etic and emic perception and to acknowledge a variety of ways to understand Ukrainianness. Also cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.12, p. 70; par. 7.26.5.

[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.12.

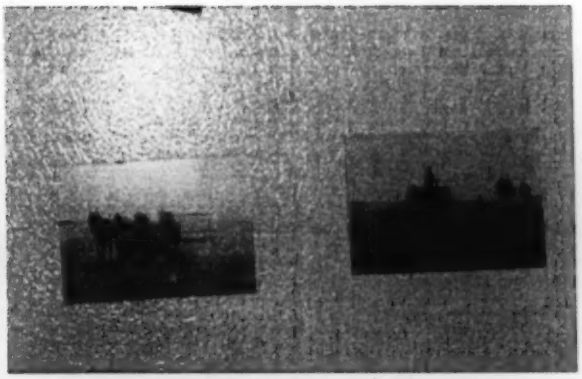

Figure 52. Fridge magnets with farm scenes (Kry 13, 13a).

Figure 53. *I Think My Boots Are High Enough* by Peter Shostak (Kry 10).

7.2.6.4. Sample Plane I and "Authentic," "Traditional"

The alleged "authenticity" of objects is mentioned more frequently by the established Ukrainian-Canadians (91%). Nine such descriptions related to Imitation Peasant Art objects made in Ukraine. The appreciation of "authenticity" by this sample group can be accounted for the observation that established Ukrainian-Canadians still perceive Ukraine as the origin of their cultural heritage, and some of them equate "authentic" with "peasant-based" and "made in Ukraine."[1]

In a similar fashion, established Ukrainian-Canadians regard more objects as valued for their "traditionality" (87%). These are Imitation Peasant objects and one Actual Peasant item – Easter eggs, embroidery, weaving and icons. Scholarly definition says that "tradition" is sometimes understood to be important in "linking the past to the present as a form of identity making" (Green, "Tradition"). In the case of my study, the past is considered important not only as a general notion, but specifically as the past of Ukrainian peasants. As a result, established Ukrainian-Canadians may reassert their ethnic identity by ascribing the value of "traditional" to the objects that make references to the Ukrainian peasant past.

7.2.6.5. Sample Plane I and "Ukrainian Symbol"

The greater representation of established Ukrainian-Canadians (89% compared to the neutral 77%) suggests they put greater emphasis on making symbolic connections to Ukrainianness with their displayed art. It has been previously observed in the research on ethnic identity that the possession of Ukrainian decorative objects has become one of the

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.11 discusses the terms of "authentic" and "traditional" in detail.

most common means for Canadian Ukrainians to identify with Ukrainian culture as their heritage (Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity" 122).Through the appreciation of objects as Ukrainian symbols, the established Ukrainian-Canadian respondents express their ethnicity and their ties to Ukrainian legacy. Such symbols characteristically refer to peasant culture, for example, woodwork, motifs of poppies, wheat and sheep.

A remark should be added about the qualitative difference between the perception of art objects as symbols of self-identification by established Ukrainian-Canadians and immigrants. While established Ukrainian-Canadians highly praise objects for their allusion to Ukrainianness as a notion of cultural heritage, particularly peasant heritage, immigrants associate many items with Ukraine as the homeland, place where they had grown up and lived for many years. For example, a butterfly-shaped fridge magnet constantly reminds its owner about bright colorful summers in Ukraine abounding in flowers and butterflies, or a straw-woven chicken evokes nostalgic memories of the comfort and coziness of the home in Ukraine where it hung on the kitchen wall (figures 54-55, p. 94).

7.2.6.6. Sample Plane I and "Subject Matter"

All the objects described as cherished for the themes and motifs they displayed are owned by established Ukrainian-Canadians. The kind of subject matter favored by established Ukrainian-Canadians draws my attention. As described in paragraph 6.13, the objects in question portray the themes of mushrooms, sheep, wheat and poppies. Because these themes allude to Ukrainian peasant rural culture and are commonly perceived as

Figure 54. "Butterfly" fridge magnets (Bo 1, 1a).

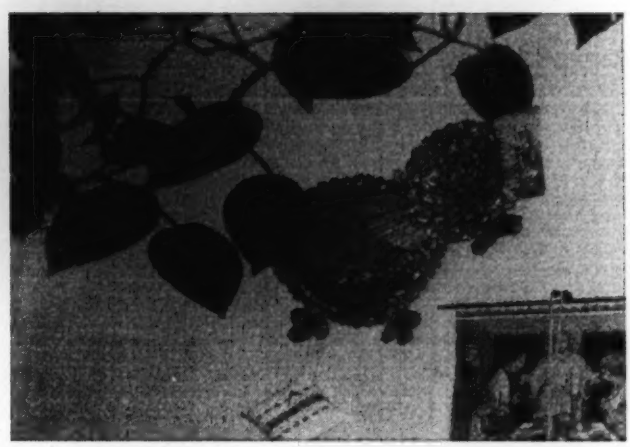

Figure 55. Straw-woven chicken (Sla 16a).

symbols of Ukrainianness in the established diaspora, they are, perhaps, of special meaning to the established Ukrainian-Canadian respondents as links between their identity and the ethnic culture.

7.3. Sample Plane II: Active and Passive Ukrainians

Similarly to the analysis of relationships between Sample Plane I and the six domains, the same object categories are compared between Active and Passive Ukrainians. The same method of comparison is used - correlations between all but the "Meaning" domains[1] and each sample group are interpreted in comparison to the correlation between all objects owned by Active Ukrainians and Passive Ukrainians (86/14 which is considered a neutral distribution between the two groups). The paragraphs that follow discuss those differences which I consider significant.

7.3.1. Sample Plane II and Definition of "Ukrainian"

The following table shows how the objects defined as Ukrainian by etic or emic only definition are divided between the two sample groups:

Table 25. Distribution of objects by etic/emic definition of "Ukrainian" between Active and Passive Ukrainians.

Definition of "Ukrainian"	**Active**	**Passive**	*Total*
Ukrainian by etic definition	89 (= 276)	11 (= 32)	*100 (= 308)*
Ukrainian by emic definition only	77 (= 79)	23 (= 24)	*100 (= 103)*
Total	*86 (= 355)*	*14 (= 56)*	*100 (= 411)*

[1] Cross-reference: see footnote 2 on p. 78, also table 32 in par. 7.3.6 on criteria to measure statistical significance for the "Meaning" domain.

The percentages for the objects that are Ukrainian by etic definition approximate the neutral 86/14. Passive Ukrainians are more represented in the "Ukrainian by emic definition only" category (23%, as opposed to the neutral 14%). They perceive some objects as Ukrainian based on more personal associations that may be less likely shared by popular perceptions of Ukrainian art – for example, an heirloom from Ukrainian grandparents, or a thrift-store item reminding them of Ukrainianness. The ascription of non-mainstream "Ukrainian" qualities to certain decorative items also is connected with the prevalence of Passive Ukrainians in the ownership of Miscellaneous Art (32%) as I will show below.

7.3.2. Sample Plane II and Type of Art

The following table shows the distribution of different types of art.

Table 26. Distribution of objects by type of art between Active and Passive Ukrainians.

Type of Art	**Active**	**Passive**	*Total*
Actual Peasant Items	82 (= 9)	18 (= 2)	*100 (= 11)*
Imitation Peasant Art	92 (= 183)	8 (= 16)	*100 (= 199)*
Peasant-Based Novelties	80 (= 56)	20 (= 14)	*100 (= 70)*
Fine Art	95 (= 63)	5 (= 3)	*100 (= 66)*
Miscellaneous Non-Peasant Art	68 (= 44)	32 (= 21)	*100 (= 65)*
Total	*86 (= 355)*	*14 (= 56)*	*100 (= 411)*

The statistics indicate that Active Ukrainians dominate in Imitation Peasant Art and Fine Art (respectively 92% and 95% as compared to the neutral 86%). Symbols of traditional peasant culture, persistent in Imitation Peasant Art and distinct in Fine Art [1] play a key role in maintenance of ethnic identity in the Ukrainian diaspora community.[2] Because Passive Ukrainians, probably, do not strongly connect ethnic identity with the possession

[1] When reviewing the subject matter of the 66 Fine Art objects, I identified 36 items dealing with peasant symbolism (= 55% of all Fine Art objects).
[2] Cross-reference: par. 7.2.6.5.

of Ukrainian art, they are not likely to "invest" in ethnicity by purchasing expensive Fine Art objects. This may explain why they own a significantly lower number of this type of art (5%).

Passive Ukrainians tend to display Miscellaneous Art more often. Those objects do not make references to traditional peasant culture and may not be recognized as mainstream visible symbols of Ukrainianness. Yet, they are strongly associated with Ukrainian culture and Ukraine in the mind of the owners – for instance, by recalling the home in Ukraine (wooden eagle or tea-set) or having the word "Ukrainian" incorporated into the object ("Ukrainian" fridge magnet or "Ukrainian" chainsaw – fig. 42, p. 61 and fig. 59, p. 108).

7.3.3. Sample Plane II and Geographical Origin

The following table how objects are distributed by geographical origin:

Table 27. Distribution of objects by geographical origin between Active and Passive Ukrainians

Geographical origin	**Active**	**Passive**	*Total*
Ukrainian	94 (= 151)	6 (= 13)	*100 (= 164)*
Non-Ukrainian	81 (= 186)	19 (= 42)	*100 (= 228)*
Unknown	95 (= 18)	5(= 1)	*100 (= 19)*
Total	*86 (= 355)*	*14 (= 56)*	*100 (= 411)*

Active Ukrainians own more items of Ukrainian origin. Perhaps, they travel to Ukraine more often and tend to value objects acquired there.

7.3.4. Sample Plane II and Function

The calculations summarized in the table below are performed in order to find out whether Active and Passive Ukrainians ascribe different functions to the decorative objects in their homes:

Table 28. Distribution of objects by function between Active and Passive Ukrainians

Function	**Active**	**Passive**	*Total*
Decorative by intent	88 (= 244)	12 (= 34)	*100 (= 278)*
Decorative and other functions by intent: now display only	87 (= 60)	13 (= 9)	*100 (= 69)*
Decorative and other functions	83 (= 36)	17 (= 7)	*100 (= 43)*
Metamorphosed art	71 (= 15)	29 (= 6)	*100 (= 21)*
Total	*86 (= 355)*	*14 (= 56)*	*100 (= 411)*

The numbers in the first three categories do not reveal significant deviations from the neutral 86/14. Passive Ukrainians seem to be over-represented in "Metamorphosed Art" (29%). However, the total number is low, and 5 items out of 6 belong to one individual.

7.3.5. Sample Plane II and Means of Acquisition

The next step in the analysis is to determine correlations between the two sample groups and acquisition of objects. The findings are shown below:

Table 29. Distribution of objects by means of acquisition between Active and Passive Ukrainians.

Means of acquisition	**Active**	**Passive**	*Total*
Purchased	89 (= 153)	11 (= 18)	*100 (= 171)*
Received as gift	82 (= 117)	18 (= 25)	*100 (= 142)*
Inherited	81 (= 22)	19 (= 5)	*100 (= 27)*
Self-made	90 (= 35)	10 (= 4)	*100 (= 39)*
Brought from family home in Ukraine	100 (= 8)	0	*100 (= 8)*
Other	50 (= 1)	50 (=1)	*100 (= 2)*
Unknown	81 (= 19)	19 (= 3)	*100 (= 22)*
Total	*86 (= 355)*	*14 (= 56)*	*100 (= 411)*

The table shows that percentages in all but "Other" categories closely match the neutral 86/14. It appears as surprising to me – because Active Ukrainians adhere to external expression of ethnic identity, I expected them to buy Ukrainian objects that are symbolic of Ukrainianness more frequently. Similarly, I anticipated the Active to be over-represented in the "Gift" category since they are actively involved in the ethnic community and they could receive Ukrainian objects as gifts more often.

7.3.5.1. Sample Plane II and Purchases

The distribution of the two most common means of acquisition, purchases and gifts, is examined in greater detail. The statistics referring to the sources of purchase are presented below. The percentages for the totals of purchased items (89/11) are considered neutral.

Table 30. Distribution of objects by source of purchase between Active and Passive Ukrainians.

Source of purchase	**Active**	**Passive**	*Total*
Craft store/market in Ukraine	100 (= 18)	0	*100 (= 18)*
Second hand store/garage-sale in Canada	50 (= 6)	50 (= 6)	*100 (= 12)*
Other	69 (= 11)	31 (= 5)	*100 (= 16)*
Unspecified	94 (= 118)	6 (= 7)	*100 (= 125)*
Total	*89 (= 153)*	*11 (= 18)*	*100 (= 171)*

It is evident from the table that only Active Ukrainians purchase Ukrainian art in craft stores or at craft markets in Ukraine. Those places, especially craft markets, offer a great variety of Imitation Peasant Art and are very popular among those diaspora Ukrainians and Ukrainian expatriates who are looking for "traditional" and "authentic" objects to reinforce their ties with Ukraine and Ukrainianness. Passive Ukrainians born in Canada (7 out of 9), on the other hand, are more likely to have never traveled to Ukraine.

Passive Ukrainians are better represented with purchases from second-hand stores or garage sales in Canada (50%), probably, because they are more willing to spend a small amount of money on an object that symbolizes Ukrainianness, rather than paying 3-4 times as much at a regular store.

7.3.5.2. Sample Plane II and Gifts

Finally, the two sample groups are correlated with the gift-giving occasions on

which Ukrainian objects had been received. The percentages for the totals of items received as gifts (82/18) are considered neutral.

Table 31. Distribution of objects by gift-giving occasion between Active and Passive Ukrainians.

Occasion	**Active**	**Passive**	*Total*
Wedding	86 (= 19)	14 (= 3)	*100 (= 22)*
Christmas	14 (= 1)	86 (= 6)	*100 (= 7)*
Other	93 (= 14)	7 (= 1)	*100 (= 15)*
Unspecified	85 (= 83)	15 (= 15)	*100 (= 98)*
Total	*82 (= 117)*	*18 (= 25)*	*100 (= 142)*

The numbers for the "Wedding" category differ only slightly from the neutral. Prior to the calculations, I imagined that wedding gifts would prevail among Active Ukrainians in the same way as gifts received on other occasions – house-warming, home-blessing, etc. (compare 93/7 in the "Other" category to the neutral). Because Active Ukrainians are intensively involved in the social network of the Ukrainian community, marry Ukrainians and attend other Ukrainian weddings, they could have been expected to receive gifts connected with Ukrainianness more often, for example, wedding breads, dolls in Ukrainian ethnic dress, dinner-sets with cross-stitch designs, etc.

Similarly, Active Ukrainians' smaller share of Christmas gifts is surprising because they could have been expected to receive Ukrainian gifts from friends, colleagues and other members of the Ukrainian network. Conversely, Passive Ukrainians own most of the objects identified as Christmas gifts.

Although the differences of percentages in most categories of purchase sources and gift occasions are big, the actual number of items matching each percentage is low. Further research and a larger data sample are required before I can be certain if these findings are truly representative and why the correlations appear as they do.

7.3.6. Sample Plane II and Meanings

To address the second part of the hypothesis about the variety of meanings attached to Ukrainian art objects by different people, the differences in the distribution of meanings are examined between Active and Passive Ukrainians. The quantified findings are presented in the table below. The totals of the meanings reported by each of the two sample categories (85/15) are considered neutral.

Table 32. Distribution of meanings between Active and Passive Ukrainians.

Meanings	**Active**	**Passive**	*Total*
People	79 (= 89)	21 (= 23)	*100 (= 112)*
Event	92 (= 36)	8 (= 3)	*100 (= 39)*
Personal experience	75 (= 44)	25 (= 15)	*100 (= 59)*
Social facilitator	73 (= 29)	27 (= 9)	*100 (= 38)*
Formal qualities	94 (= 46)	6 (= 3)	*100 (= 49)*
Part of collection	72 (= 13)	28 (= 5)	*100 (= 18)*
Religious	100 (= 13)	0	*100 (= 13)*
Utilitarian	86 (= 14)	14 (= 2)	*100 (= 16)*
Inexpensive	40 (= 2)	60 (= 3)	*100 (= 5)*
Expensive	100 (= 1)	0	*100 (= 1)*
Unique	87 (= 13)	13 (= 2)	*100 (= 15)*
Old	77 (= 10)	23 (= 3)	*100 (= 13)*
Authentic	91 (= 10)	9 (= 1)	*100 (= 11)*
Traditional	75 (= 11)	25 (= 4)	*100 (= 15)*
Ukrainian symbol	89 (= 48)	11 (= 6)	*100 (= 54)*
Subject matter of object	100 (= 11)	0	*100 (= 11)*
No significance	96 (= 89)	4 (= 4)	*100 (= 93)*
Total	*85 (= 479)*	*15 (= 83)*	*100 (= 562)*

Similarly to the procedures of the analysis of correlations between Sample Plane I and meanings, those categories are excluded that do not provide me with enough ground for an in-depth interpretation. The differences in percentages for "Utilitarian" and "Unique" measure up to the neutral 85/15. Most of the meanings in "Part of Collection" and "Traditional" mentioned by the Passive are expressed by only one respondent in each case, therefore conclusions can not be true for all Passive Ukrainians. The categories of "Inexpensive," "Expensive," and "Old" have too small a data sample for confirming

statistical validity. The differences in the percentages for the categories of "Social Facilitator," "Formal Qualities" and "No significance" although apparent, are also eliminated from the discussion, since I cannot suggest an explanation.

The interpretation of percentages for other categories appears below.

7.3.6.1. Sample Plane II and "People," "Personal Experience"

Passive Ukrainians are over-represented in these two categories (21% and 25% compared to the neutral 15%). They may appreciate Ukrainian objects as triggers of personal associations with the family or life experiences, since they are not involved in the organized ethnic community and may not share the perception of Ukrainian art as a "vessel" of abstract heritage symbolism. The lower score for Passive Ukrainians in the category of "Ukrainian Symbol" (11%) is consistent with this hypothesis.

A qualitative difference between Active and Passive Ukrainians is observed in the representation of "People". This difference can be seen in the table below which shows the breakdown of the category:

Table 33. Distribution of meanings by type of people between Active and Passive Ukrainians.

Meanings by type of people	**Active**	**Passive**	*Total*
Children	100 (= 23)	0	*100 (= 23)*
Mother	90 (= 18)	10 (= 2)	*100 (= 20)*
Father	75 (= 3)	25 (= 1)	*100 (= 4)*
Grandmother	63 (= 10)	37 (= 6)	*100 (= 16)*
Grandfather	50 (= 1)	50 (= 1)	*100 (= 2)*
Relatives	54 (= 13)	46 (= 11)	*100 (= 24)*
Husband	100 (= 1)	0	*100 (= 1)*
Friend	83 (= 10)	17 (= 2)	*100 (= 12)*
Maker of object	100 (= 10)	0	*100 (= 10)*
People: total	*79 (= 89)*	*21 (= 23)*	*100 (= 112)*
Total of meanings reported	*85 (= 479)*	*15 (= 83)*	*100 (= 562)*

It is apparent from the table that associations with children are more frequent among Active Ukrainians (100%), whereas grandmothers are mentioned more often by Passive Ukrainians (37%). Because Active Ukrainians are engaged in the Ukrainian community, the "Ukrainian" dimension for them is an essential part of the present and it involves immediate family, particularly, children. On the other hand, Passive Ukrainians tend to "locate" Ukrainianness in the past by ascribing special meanings to objects inherited from or associated with previous generations.

With regards to the "Makers of objects," they are mentioned by Active Ukrainians exclusively. Most of objects in this category are Fine Art made by Ukrainians. Since the status of "Active Ukrainian" suggests knowledge of Ukrainian art and its makers, it could be expected that individuals with this status would have appreciation of certain objects as works by particular artists.

7.3.6.2. Sample Plane II and "Events"

Active Ukrainians associate more objects with events (92%). Most of these objects were acquired as gifts on specific occasions – wedding, retirement, house-warming, etc. Because Active Ukrainians put a greater emphasis on ethnicity in social and cultural domains of their lives, they could be expected to receive Ukrainian gifts as a token of donors' recognition of their ethnic background more often.

7.3.6.3. Sample Plane II and "Religious"

Items with the verbalized special religious meaning tend to belong to Active Ukrainians disproportionately. These objects include icons, framed prayers, pussy-

willows brought in for Palm Sunday. Involvement in church life was part of my sampling criteria to identify Active respondents. Also, religiousness and adherence to religious customs, apart from peasant symbolism, are also highly praised in the Ukrainian Canadian community and, besides, are commonly perceived as remarkable attributes of Ukrainianness. To give an example of Christian symbolism commonly perceived as essential for Ukrainian heritage – while addressing my inquiries about a set of small icons, the owner says he bought them because religion, in his opinion, "traditionally" occupies an important place in the life of Ukrainians [Pro 4].

7.3.6.4. Sample Plane II and "Authentic"

According to the statistics, objects considered authentic belong significantly more to Active Ukrainians (91% compared to the neutral 85%). Based on my fieldwork observations, this attribute is praised as referring to items that were or would have been part of Ukrainian peasant culture. Why is "authentic" favored more by Active Ukrainians? The term has long been used in the scholarly discourse of Ukrainian folklore and, as a word of scholarly significance is, perhaps, preferred by those who have the knowledge of Ukrainian peasant-based art. The status of Active Ukrainian already implied erudition in Ukrainian cultural heritage and involvement in Ukrainian art.[1]

7.3.6.5. Sample Plane II and "Ukrainian Symbol"

Although Active Ukrainians are more represented in the appreciation of art objects as Ukrainian symbols (89% compared to the neutral 85%), I expected the gap between them and Passive to be larger than 5%. In my observation, the Active understand

and identify with Ukrainianness to a large extent through symbols that are said to be prominent icons of Ukrainian culture.

At the same time, it appears as no surprise that these cultural icons are representative of Ukrainian peasant environment – sheep, wheat, poppies, corn-flowers, Easter eggs, peasants in traditional dress – in the context of the previous discussion of peasant symbolism. Objects with references to peasant environment comprise 84% of the items appreciated by Active respondents as Ukrainian symbols (= 38 pieces). They are concerned not only with subject matter but also techniques used for making the art piece (for example, cross-stitch embroidery, or Hutsul wood-carvings – Hor 15). The objects that are appreciated as Ukrainian peasant symbols include mainly Imitation Peasant items followed by Fine Art (for instance, a painting with Ukrainian ritual breads – Op 26), and Peasant-Based Novelties (such as an embroidered fridge magnet – Ba 4, or a decal ceramic mug with cross-stitch patterns – Vin 1). With regards to the latter example, the owner of the mug provides comments that are illustrative of the persistence of certain symbols as Ukrainian icons and identity markers in the Ukrainian community: " everybody has a ceramic mug…seems like everybody got something ceramic in their house – decal pottery…it's sort of obligatory…" (figures 56-57, p. 106). The inclusion of Fine Art and Peasant-Based Novelties suggests that not only traditional objects are recognized as peasant symbols but also other items that make references to peasant culture.

Additionally, Active Ukrainians tend to ascribe symbolic meaning to Miscellaneous objects with no allusions to Ukrainian peasant repertoire - from a serious

[1] Cross-reference: table 14, p. 75.

Figure 56. Decal name mugs (Bab 21, 21a).

Figure 57. Decal name mug (Vin 1).

wooden bulava (a regalia of hetman's power [1]) to a humorous "Ukrainian Kitchen" magnet (figures 58-59, p. 108). Although these objects are minority (16%), they account for the variety of perspectives in understanding of Ukrainianness through visual symbols.[2]

As to Passive Ukrainains, they mention fewer objects valued as Ukrainian symbols (11%) but adhere to the peasant theme along with Active Ukrainians (for example, symbolic meaning is attached to a clay figurine of a peasant woman – although brought from a trip to Egypt, it "looks Ukrainian" to the owner; see figure 60, p. 109). This observation indicates that peasant-based icons of Ukrainian heritage reach beyond the organized Ukrainian community.

7.3.6.6. Sample Plane II and "Subject Matter"

The value of the subject matter is acknowledged by Active Ukrainians solely. As I have pointed out earlier, the respondents do not give reasons for favoring the themes of sheep, poppies, etc.[3] The appreciation of these themes could be coincident with or consequent to the fact that they are also renowned cultural symbols in the Ukrainian community.

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[1] "Hetman" is a Ukrainian word for "an elected leader of the Cossacks."
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 8, par. 8.3.
[3] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.13; also par. 7.2.6.6.

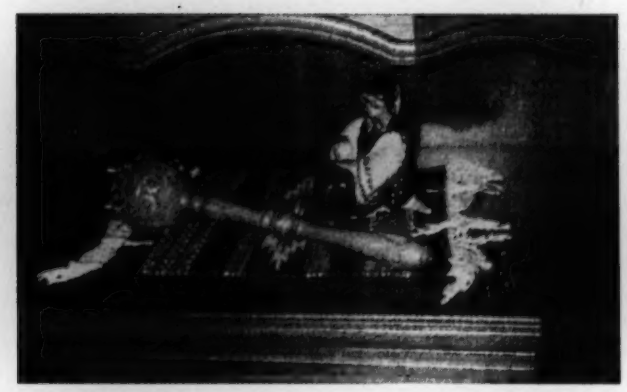

Figure 58. Wooden bulava (Mak 12).

Figure 59. "Ukrainian Kitchen" fridge magnet (Yuz 18).

Figure 60. Figurine made of mud from the Nile river (Kay 7).

CHAPTER EIGHT: ART AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

The previous four chapters closely examined different dimensions and qualities of Ukrainian art objects and explored various meanings and values attached to them by the owners. It has been demonstrated that the art objects displayed in the home function on many levels and are ascribed polysemic attributes. How do these characteristics and meanings relate to the expression of ethnic identity by those who possess the art objects?[1] I will address this question in a four-step approach. First, I will discuss the need for and importance of maintaining ethnic identity in a multiethnic society, Canada in particular. Second, I will attempt to explain why ethnic art is commonly chosen as a means to connect with one's ethnicity. Third, I will identify and explore several aspects and factors of ethnic identity which are conveyed in the possession of the art objects. Forth, these aspects and factors will be compared to the two sample planes.

8.1. Importance of Maintaining Ethnic Identity

As I have explained in Chapter 2, my use of the term "ethnic identity" is based on the definition proposed by Isajiw, "a phenomenon indicated by the attributes and behavior patterns that derive from membership in an ethnic group" ("Definitions of Ethnicity" 112). An ethnic group, in its turn, can be characterized, according to the author, as a group of people who share the same ancestral culture and who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same group (Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity" 112). Why is it important for individuals to identify with an ethnic group?

[1] See Research Questions 8 and 9 in Chapter 1, p. 6.

Ethnicity can be an active force on a number of levels. Barth refers to ethnic identity as "basic identity" (14). That is, on a fundamental psychological level, belonging to an ethnic category implies being a certain kind of person and contributes to one's sense of personal significance. In Canada, ethnicity becomes a personal characteristic, as it is common to reply to the question "Who are you?" in ethnic terms.

Harold Isaacs stresses the socializing aspect of ethnicity: "An individual belongs to his basic group in the deepest and most literal sense that he is not alone, which is what all but a very few human beings most fear to be. He is not only alone, but here, as long as he chooses to remain in and of it, he cannot be denied or rejected" (35). Apart from giving a sense of geographical, social and cultural belonging, ethnicity also provides a "legacy for self-definition – the feeling of inheriting something valuable and of a mission to transmit it to future generations" (Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity" 119).

On a social level of higher order, ethnicity is employed to maintain boundaries that define an ethnic group as a unique collectivity distinguishable from other ethnic groups. Barth points out that intensity with which a group distinguishes itself as an ethnic group can increase commensurably with an intense spatial-geographical and social contact between groups (14-16).[1] Maintenance of ethnic boundaries becomes especially important in heterogeneous societies, such as Canada, where a variety of ethnic groups are in close contact with each other and constitute a larger entity – a citizenship. Canadian society has been characterized by adherence to multiculturalism and freedom of ethnic expression, which tolerates both ethnic diversity and various means for

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 2, par. 2.3.

individuals to retain the sense of ethnic belonging. At the same time, identification with an ethnic group helps to reduce the fear and apprehension of acculturation and assimilation which are commonly perceived as not so benevolent features of mixed societies.

8.2. Expression of Ethnic Identity through Art

While reviewing relevant literature and describing my sampling criteria, I mentioned Isajiw's approach to ethnic identity as a structured phenomenon consisting of external and internal aspects.[1] He applies this model of ethnicity to study on ethnic-identity retention among nine ethnic groups in Toronto (Isajiw, *Ethnic Identity Retention*). In order to evaluate the retention of external aspects, the scholar uses a number of criteria pertaining to ethnic behavior, which included, among others, participation in ethnic traditions. This criterion appears to be the highest retained aspect of ethnicity among Ukrainians as well as nearly all other groups, and includes consumption of ethnic food, possession of ethnic decorative articles and practice of customs on holiday occasions. Thus, possession of ethnic art objects is observed to be part of one of the most widely spread manifestations of ethnicity. Why is ethnic art so common? According to Klymasz, the recent phase of the maintenance of Ukrainian heritage in Canada is determined by the dominant popular culture that is "almost exclusively devoted to the non-verbal, sensory appeal" – the sound of Ukrainian music, the taste of traditional foods and the visual attraction of Ukrainian art (14). The scholar argues that the gradual loss of the mother tongue among the Canadian-born and the

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 2, par. 2.3, Chapter 7, par. 7.1.

concurrent reduction of Ukrainian heritage into "optical, acoustic and tactile manifestations" has, in turn, prompted the exaggeration and expansion of these features (14). From his standpoint, Gans states that the media to express ethnic identity in multicultural societies are guided by the so-called "pragmatic imperative": they should be visible, time-efficient, clear in meaning and easy to communicate ethnicity without undue interference in other aspects of life (176-178). Does ethnic art meet the above-mentioned criteria? It is visual and easy to notice; it clearly communicates its ethnic quality to the owners and the audience. Besides, the possession of art objects does not upset the every-day routine and it is not time-consuming like learning an ethnic language or engaging in ethnic activities.

Why should the domestic context of art objects be given special attention? Displayed in the home, they bring psychological comfort and the feeling of inclusion into and belonging to an ethnic collectivity, tradition, culture, family and ethnic networks. When observed in public spaces of homes, such as living-rooms, dining rooms and kitchens, they communicate the owners' ethnic identity to the outsiders and provide a peculiar characteristic to the home – for example, one of my respondents notes that the wood-carved shelf for plates (*mysnyk*) hanging on the wall "adds a Ukrainian touch to the home" [Hor 15].

8.3. Ethnic Identity and Different Types of Art

It has been customary among scholars researching the relationship between art and ethnicity in Canada to associate the expression of ethnic identity, Ukrainian identity in particular, with so called "traditional folk art" or, the way I define it, with Peasant and

Imitation Peasant Art. For instance, Andersen points at Easter eggs, embroidery and icons that can be observed in many Ukrainian-Canadian homes and contribute to the uniqueness of Ukrainian identity (42-44). Wolynetz regards Ukrainian folk art, that is peasant-based art, as the most important visual means through which Ukrainians in diaspora affirm their ethnic adherence and preserve their ethnic characteristics from assimilation (22). Jones, in his turn, closely examines the phenomenon of Easter egg as one of the most significant forms of Ukrainian-Canadian expression and the assumed quintessential of Ukrainian values, accomplishments and identity (54). The discussion of art and ethnicity also involves the issue of ethnic appeal in the works of individual Ukrainian-Canadian artists (Borsa; Palij).

While each of these voices acknowledges the role of traditional peasant-based art in the identity maintenance, I recognize the legitimacy of other types of art as visual markers of ethnic expression among Ukrainians in Canada. To put this statement in the context of my study, I have observed that not only Actual Peasant items, Imitation Peasant, and Fine Art but also non-traditional Peasant-Based Novelties and Miscellaneous Non-Peasant Art are perceived by their owners as means to affirm their ethnicity. For example, fridge magnets with embroideries and the writing "Ukrainian kitchen," etc., decal ceramics, plastic sunflowers and poppies, chocolate boxes and whisky bottles can be regarded as symbols of Ukrainianness and markers of identity. Respondents' comments on different types of art include: "I have it because I am Ukrainian," "All Ukrainians have such items" etc.

Although Novelties and Miscellaneous Art are not observed in great numbers in the homes of the participants (they constitute respectively 17% and 16% of the total of

objects, they are still kept on display for a reason, as attributes of the Ukrainian home, and their legitimacy to be one of the means of ethnic self-expression should be acknowledged.

8.4. Aspects and Factors of Ethnic Identity Manifested through Art

Scholars of ethnicity in multicultural societies have agreed that ethnic identity is a complex multifaceted phenomenon and a variety of dimensions, factors and indicators of ethnic identification have been recognized (Anderson and Frideres; Driedger). Similarly, I argue that ethnic identity is communicated by means of art on several levels. My model of expression of ethnic identity through art objects incorporates a number of theoretical perspectives.

First, I accept Isajiw's observation that ethnic identity is a social-psychological phenomenon which is manifested internally through the states of mind and feelings, and externally by behavior appropriate to these inner states ("Ethnic Identity Retention" 36). By further following Isajiw's approach, I distinguish external and internal aspects of identification with ethnicity in relation to the ethnic art. Since external aspects refer to observable behavior, the following actions are regarded as behavioral aspects of expressing ethnic identity through art based on the findings of my study: practicing traditional Ukrainian arts and teaching them to younger generations in the family, purchasing and exchanging art objects as gifts, acquiring them as heirlooms and keeping on display in the home.[1] External aspects also involve a number of display functions

[1] For an in-depth discussion of these behavioral aspects refer to Chapter 5.

ascribed to objects, such as showcasing items of both decorative and other intent, abandoning utilitarian uses and turning objects into metamorphosed art. [1]

The internal aspects are interconnected with the external and include images, ideas, attitudes and feelings. Based on responses collected from the participants of my study, I attempt to create a typology of factors through which Ukrainian art objects were associated with ethnicity by the owners. Driedger's classification is utilized as a model; the scholar discerned six basic factors of ethnic identification: territory, ethnic culture, ethnic institutions, historical symbols, ideology and charismatic leadership.[2] My typology is loosely based on Driedger's system and includes the following factors of ethnic identification: territory, ethnic culture, heritage symbols and personal. These factors are not mutually exclusive: i.e., more than one of them can be observed in regards to a single object.

8.4.1. Identification with Territory

According to Driedger, territory is an essential ingredient of any definition of a community, ethnic group in particular (143). In the context of my study, the territory seen in connection to ethnic identity is Ukraine. How do art objects exemplify such connection? A number of items are regarded by the owners as special because they remind them of Ukraine, the actual or ancestral motherland. They include objects purchased, received as gifts from relatives or friends or brought from the home in Ukraine (for instance, an embroidered towel, a photoalbum or a painting), as well as items of non-Ukrainian source that evoked memories of the place, for example, a

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 4, par. 4.4.
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 2, par. 2.3.

"Welcome" sign with a marine scene reminding someone of the native area in Ukraine [Bo 6].[1]

8.4.2. Identification with Ethnic Culture

Among the indicators of a group's adherence to ethnic culture, Driedger names choice of friends, participation in religion, educational and voluntary organizations (145). Ukrainian art objects link their owners to the ethnic culture (defined as such in Drieger's terms) through allusions and memories that they evoke. Many of the items received as gifts came from Ukrainian friends, and thus choice of friends from the same ethnic group is emphasized through acquisition of objects and reminiscences of the donors.[2] Religious involvement is alluded to by religious objects or themes related to the church and their special meaning for the respondents.[3] A number of items were made by children or students enrolled in the Ukrainian bilingual programs (Easter eggs, embroideries), other are associated with the participation in Ukrainian dance groups (fridge magnets and figurines representing Ukrainian dancers) – these instances account for evidence of affiliation with ethnic voluntary and other organizations.

8.4.3. Identification with Heritage Symbols

It has been emphasized throughout the study that many art objects displayed in the home are perceived as symbolic of Ukrainian cultural heritage: icons, embroidered towels, representations and motifs of poppies, sheep, wheat in Imitation Peasant Art,

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[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.3; par. 6.12, p. 70; Chapter 7, par. 7.2.6.2 and 7.2.6.5.
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 5, par. 5.2.
[3] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.7.

Peasant-based Novelties and in works by renowned Ukrainian artists such. I have already noted and explained the fact that such symbols make references to the past of Ukrainian peasant life.[1] Driedger states that heritage symbols create a sense of belonging, a sense of purpose, and a sense of continuing tradition which is important and worth perpetuating (146).This is why "traditionality," "authenticity" and "age" are often regarded by my respondents as valuable attributes of Ukrainian objects.[2] The knowledge of the origins and pride in heritage are said to be particularly significant for ethnic urbanites (Driedger 145); this statement finds empirical support in my study of Ukrainians living in Edmonton. One might argue that exploitation of certain symbols does not account for in-depth knowledge and awareness of the ethnic group's heritage and past. However, according to Isajiw, this knowledge may not necessarily be extensive or objective when used to affirm ethnic identity. It may rather focus on selected aspects and phenomena that are highly symbolic of the ethnic group's experiences and thus have become a legacy ("Ethnic Identity Retention" 36).

8.4.4. Personal Identification

This level of identity refers to the capacity of objects to act as reminders of special people and trigger memories of personal experience that are connected to Ukrainianness. For example, a framed case with Easter eggs evokes reminiscences of preparation for Easter in the family [Tym 1], or an embroidery of a ballet-dancer is regarded as Ukrainian because made by the Ukrainian grandmother [Di 7]. Similar to the above discussed heritage symbols, objects with such associations not only make

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.12.
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.11.

references to the past but add a personal dimension to the owners' ethnic identification, because they allude to experiences shared by other Ukrainians and yet lived through privately, and reinforce ties with individuals of personal significance. This is a more subtle way to express adherence to ethnicity, since herein one identifies with Ukrainianness through emotions, feelings of nostalgia and attachment rather than by means of observable ethnic behavior or symbols referring to Ukrainians as an conceptual collectivity and to Ukrainian heritage as an abstract notion.

8.5. Ethnic Identification and the Two Sample Planes

Now that the variety of ethnic identity aspects and factors have been examined, I will bring them closer to the findings of my study and explore their occurrence between the categories of both sample planes: established Ukrainian-Canadians, Immigrants, Active and Passive Ukrainians.

Established Ukrainian-Canadians place strong emphasis on external aspects of ethnic identity: they frequently receive Ukrainian gifts (84% as compared to neutral 75); practice Ukrainian arts (90% of all self-made Easter eggs);[1] give priority to the display function of objects intended for decorative and other purposes, including wedding breads and sheaves (81% of all items in this category).[2] Established Ukrainian-Canadians also display fewer objects that are Ukrainian by emic definition only (64%), which implies that the etically Ukrainian items refer to established symbols and are recognized as important part of Ukrainian culture by those who have the knowledge of Ukrainian art.[3]

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[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.2.5.2.
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.2.4.
[3] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.2.1.

Established Ukrainian-Canadians identification with territory is expressed by means of objects that allude to Ukraine as ancestral motherland and a place traveled to. However, the factor of territory is not as articulate within this group of Ukrainian-Canadian community as it is with immigrants. This may be explained by the stronger connection between established Ukrainian-Canadians and Canada itself as the territory of their heritage.

In contrast, established Ukrainian-Canadians dominate in the factor of identification with heritage symbols: they describe art objects as important Ukrainian symbols more often (89% compared to the neutral 77%) with the emphasis on peasant symbolism[1] and appreciate these objects for their subject matter (100%).[2] They frequently value items for their 'authenticity" and "traditionality" (respectively 91% and 87%).[3]

The ethnic identification of **Ukrainian immigrants** is not too obvious in the sense that they own more items that are Ukrainian by emic definition only (36% as compared to the neutral 25%).[4]

Immigrants do not pay as much attention to certain behavioral aspects of ethnic identity, such as gift-exchange and practice of Ukrainian arts. The external aspects emphasized by them include purchasing objects at art stores and markets in Ukraine (56% compared to the neutral 26%) and second-hand places in Canada (58%).[5]

While ethnically locating themselves in relation to Ukraine as territory,

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[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 6, par. 6.12; Chapter 7, par. 7.2.6.5.
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.2.6.6.
[3] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.2.6.4.
[4] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.2.1.
[5] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.2.5.1.

immigrants tend to recognize its significance more as the actual motherland rather than a place of ancestral and cultural origin. Association with Ukraine as territory appears a salient feature of immigrant ethnic identity.[1]

Ukrainian immigrants' way of identifying with ethnic heritage has quantitative and qualitative distinctiveness. First, they do not associate themselves with Ukrainian symbols as often as established Ukrainian-Canadians do (11% compared to the neutral 23%). [2] Second, in many instances, objects seen as heritage symbols (e.g., traditional ceramics, woodwork, paintings with peasant motifs) were acquired in Ukraine on purpose to be displayed in the new home in Canada, thus representing the uniqueness of the residents' ethnic background in the host multicultural country. While commenting on a set of wooden cooking tools displayed in the kitchen, the respondent notes that it feels more special and looks nicer in Canada because it is unique – in Ukraine, these objects are everywhere, and "here, your background is unique, everybody is different, and we are proud to show that we are Ukrainians" [Bab 17]. This instance illustrates the observation made by Burnet and Palmer that immigrants sometimes are not aware of an ethnic identity when they arrive, but become "ethnically conscious" when they enter the countrymen's network and draw a sharp distinction from others (212). Thus, immigrant identification with their heritage becomes articulated as a result of physical separation from the homeland culture.

In addition, immigrants score higher in identification with Ukrainianness through personal connection, particularly, personal experience (50%).[3]

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[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.2.6.2.
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.2.6.5.
[3] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.2.6.2.

Active Ukrainians adhere to behavioral aspects of ethnic identity in the following ways. They display more Ukrainian objects (86% of the total of the items versus constituting 64% of the sample).[1] They also engage in making Ukrainian traditional art more often (90%).[2]

Active Ukrainians dominate in identification with ethnic culture – objects on display in their homes are often associated with participation in Ukrainian dance, church activities and Ukrainian bilingual programs.

The Active are visible in perpetuating Ukrainianness through heritage symbols: they frequently regard objects as special a) for their peasant-based symbolic references to Ukrainian culture (89% in the meaning category "Ukrainian symbol" and 100% - in "Subject matter" as compared to the neutral 85%); [3] b) for the attribute of "authentic" (91%); [4] and c) as works by renowned Ukrainian artists (100%).[5]

Passive Ukrainians show ambivalent representation in the expression of ethnic identity externally. On the one hand, they display fewer Ukrainian objects (14% of the total of the items as compared to comprising 26% of the sample).[6] On the other hand, they receive Ukrainian objects as gifts more often (18% as opposed to the neutral 14%). Passive Ukrainains' manner of ethnic behavior is more indirect and subtle in that they put more emphasis on objects considered Ukrainian by emic definition only (23%)[7] and often

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[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.1, pp. 76-77.
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.3.5.
[3] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.3.6.5 and 7.3.6.6.
[4] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.3.6.4.
[5] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.3.6.1.
[6] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.1, pp. 76-77.
[7] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.3.1.

turn non-decorative items into Ukrainian art objects (29% of items in the category of Metamorphosed Art).[1]

While revealing a weaker degree of identification with heritage symbols (11% in the meaning category of "Ukrainian symbol", 9% - in "Authentic" as compared to the neutral 15%), [2] Passive Ukrainians score higher in affirming ethnicity through personal connection (21% in the meaning categories of "People" and 25% in "Personal Experience").[3] Thus, in regard to internal expression they identify with Ukrainianness on a private level rather than by means of mainstream images and symbols.

[1] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.3.4.
[2] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.3.6.4 and 7.3.6.5.
[3] Cross-reference: Chapter 7, par. 7.3.6.1.

CHAPTER NINE: SUMMARY

To conclude the thesis, I will summarize the main findings of the study which I consider notable and which can be applied to research on art and/or ethnic art in particular, relationship between art and ethnicity, diversity of ethnic communities and ethnic identity in multicultural societies. The concise statements of the findings are listed below:

- The thesis utilizes anthropological and folkloristic perspectives on art and shows the effectiveness of studying art in broad cultural context.
- The existing common definitions of art types and their classifications are surveyed and provided with explanation of their ineffectiveness. Instead, a new classification of art is proposed that proves to be adequate for the objectives of the study.
- The attribute of "Ukrainian" is examined in its application to art, and a number of categories are established to clarify what art can be considered "Ukrainian."
- The importance of distinguishing between emic and etic perspectives is emphasized, and the differences between these perspectives in perception of ethnic art, its meaning and ethnic identity are explored.
- The Ukrainian-Canadian community is approached as a diverse rather than homogenous group, and four different groups within the community are identified.
- A criterion scale is developed to measure "active" and "passive" involvement in the Ukrainian-Canadian community.
- Several dimensions or domains are suggested to characterize art objects, including geographical origin and function. In regard to the latter, a distinction is made between decorative and utilitarian intent and current function.

- Categories of means of acquisition and meanings of art objects are devised. The discussion of meanings reveals a) low appreciation of formal qualities of art; b) differences between common understanding and dictionary definitions of "authentic" and "traditional" when applied to art; c) persistence of peasant symbolism in perception and understanding of Ukrainian culture, and its significance in ethnic identification.
- The differences between four subgroups of Ukrainian-Canadian community in the relation to Ukrainian art are examined and attempted to be explained.
- The importance of maintaining ethnic identity in a multicultural society is explored, and the question of why ethnic art becomes a widespread means to express ethnic identity is addressed.
- Based on the empirical data, the argument is suggested that ethnic identity can be associated with different kinds of art objects and not only those that display established mainstream symbols.
- The complexity and multidimensionality of ethnic identification are recognized, and a typology of ethnic identity aspects and factors is developed and applied to the discussion of ethnic art.
- Differences and patterns in the expression of ethnic identity between the four subgroups of Ukrainian-Canadian community are identified and explored.

Suggestions for future research include exploration of differences and patterns in the expression of ethnic identity through art between men and women, Ukrainians of different ages and generations, higher and lower socio-economic status, urban and rural

dwellers, Ukrainians and other ethnic groups in Canada, etc. Also, further studies could use the findings of this thesis to examine the relationship between ethnic identity and other domains of ethnic culture: performing arts, language, foodways, social networks, adherence to certain values, etc. Finally, this study could be expanded to include more respondents to substantiate, dispute or elaborate on the findings made here.

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APPENDIX: DATA CHART

Abbreviations of Category Headings

Column B:
Est = Established Ukrainian-Canadian
Imm = Ukrainian immigrant

Column C:
Act = Active Ukrainian
Pass = Passive Ukrainian

Column E:
bread = ritual bread
cer = ceramic
embr = embroidery
icon = icon
music = musical instrument
paint = painting on wood
tape = tapestry
straw = straw-weaving
weav = weaving
wood = woodwork

Column G:
emic = Ukrainian by emic definition
etic = Ukrainian by etic definition

Column H:
act = Actual Peasant
fine = Fine Art
imitat = Imitation Peasant Art
mis = Miscellaneous Non-Peasant Art
nov = Peasant-Based Novelty

Column I:
non-ukr = made in and/or brought from outside Ukraine
ukr = made in and/or brought from Ukraine
un = unspecified

Column J:
dec = decorative by intent
dec/other = decorative and other functions
displ = now decorative only
met = metamorphosed art

Column K:
ch = from children
ch-m = made by children
church = brought from the church
dau = daughter
father = from father
friend = given by friend
Grf = from great- grandfather
Grm = from great-grandmother
g = gift (occasion unspecified)
g/Chr = Christmas gift
grm = from grandmother
grf = from grandfather
g/other = gift for other occasions(birthday, Easter, farewell, retirement, house warming, etc.)
g/wed = wedding gift
home = brought from the family home in Ukraine
inherit = family heirloom
maker = from the maker of the object
mother = from mother
oth = from other people (colleagues, students, etc.)
pur = purchased (place unspecified)
pur/craft = purchased at craft markets or stores in Ukraine
pur/other = purchased at various places (antique shop, festival grounds, airport, etc.)
pur/sec = purchased at second hand stores or garage sales in Canada
rel_C = from relatives in Canada
rel_U = from relatives in Ukraine
self = self-made
sister = from sister
un = unknown
veg/self = vegetal items brought in by the owner

Column L:
authent = authentic
collect = collectables
ev/birth = memory of children's birth
ev/h-bl = memory of house-blessing
ev/h-w = memory of house-warming
ev/other = memory of other events
ev/ret = memory of retirement from the dance group
ev/show = memory of Ukrainian dance shows
ev/wed = memory of wedding
exp = expensive
exper = personal experience
form = formal qualities
inexp = inexpensive
no = no meaning mentioned
old = old
p/ch = memory of children
p/f-m = memory of father, mother
p/father = memory of father
p/friend = memory of friend
p/Grf = memory of great-grandfather
p/Grm = memory of great-grandmother
p/grf = memory of grandfather
p/grm = memory of grandmother
p/hus = memory of husband
p/maker = memory of the maker of the object
p/mother = memory of mother
p/rel = memory of relative
R = respondent
relig = religious
soc = social facilitator
sub = appreciation of the subject-matter
sym = Ukrainian symbol
trad = traditional
uniq = unique
util = appreciation of utilitarian function

B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
1 Est	Act	Ba 1	Decal ceramic canister set		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	pur	util
2 Est	Act	Ba 2	Decal ceramic dinner-set		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	g/wed//mother	ev/wed//relig
3 Est	Act	Ba 3	Framed embroidery with a cross	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//mother	p/mother
4 Est	Act	Ba 4	Embroidered fridge magnet		emic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	g//mother	p/mother//sym
5 Est	Act	Ba 5	Dried wedding bread	bread	etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	g/wed//friend	ev/wed
6 Imm	Act	Bab 1	Framed embroidery	embr	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g/other//rel_U	no
7 Imm	Act	Bab 2	Icon	icon	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g/other	ev/h-bl
8 Imm	Act	Bab 3	Hutsul wooden triple candle-holder	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	displ	g	no
9 Imm	Act	Bab 3a	"Last Supper" icon	icon	emic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur/sec	no
10 Imm	Act	Bab 4	Miniature bandura		etic	nov	ukr	dec	g/wed	ev/wed//exper
11 Imm	Act	Bab 5	Wooden candle-holder	wood	emic	imitat	ukr	displ	pur/sec	exper
12 Imm	Act	Bab 6	Wooden mug	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	pur	util
13 Imm	Act	Bab 7	Framed embroidery with poppies	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	self	p/hus//soc
14 Imm	Act	Bab 8	Decorative broom		etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//friend	trad
15 Imm	Act	Bab 9	Decorative broom		etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g	sym//exper
16 Imm	Act	Bab 10	Wooden lion		emic	misc	ukr	dec	pur	no
17 Imm	Act	Bab 11	Sieve		emic	imitat	ukr	met	g//mother	exper
18 Imm	Act	Bab 12	Painting with mountains and a fisherman		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	pur/sec	exper
19 Imm	Act	Bab 13	Wooden-bead curtain		emic	misc	ukr	dec/other	pur	no

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditi-onal Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geogra-phical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
20	Imm	Act	Bab 14	Collection of Ukrainian vodka (*horilka*) bottles		etic	misc	ukr	met	pur	form//exper
21	Imm	Act	Bab 15	Hutsul wood-carved plate	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	no
22	Imm	Act	Bab 16	Ceramic vase	cer	emic	act	ukr	displ	inherit//Grf	p/Grf
23	Imm	Act	Bab 17	Set of wooden cooking tools	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	displ	g//rel_U	no
24	Imm	Act	Bab 18	Ceramic vase	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	no
25	Imm	Act	Bab 20	Empty "*Svitoch*" chocolates box		etic	misc	ukr	met	pur	sym//exper
26	Imm	Act	Bab 21	Decal name mug		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	pur	uniq
27	Imm	Act	Bab 21a	Decal name mug		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	pur	uniq
28	Imm	Pass	Ben 1	Porcelain tea-set		emic	misc	ukr	dec/other	g/wed//sister	p/rel//exper
29	Imm	Pass	Ben 2	Gilded porcelain tea-set		emic	misc	ukr	dec/other	g//father, mother	form//soc//inexp//uniq//exper
30	Imm	Pass	Ben 3	Wooden eagle		emic	misc	ukr	dec	pur/sec	sym
31	Imm	Pass	Ben 4	Picture with the "*Bozhe, Blahoslovy Nash Dim*" writing		etic	misc	ukr	dec	pur/other	collect
32	Imm	Pass	Bo 2	Globe		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec/other	pur/sec	exper
33	Imm	Pass	Bo 3	Plastic sunflowers		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	pur/sec	sym//exper
34	Imm	Pass	Bo 4	Set of ceramic spice containers in the shape of various vegetables		emic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g/wed//rel_U	ev/wed//exper
35	Imm	Pass	Bo 5	"Butterfly" magnet		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec/other	un	exper
36	Imm	Pass	Bo 5a	"Butterfly" magnet		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec/other	un	exper
37	Imm	Pass	Bo 6	"Welcome" wooden sign with a marine scene		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	g//friend	exper

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
38	Est	Pass	Di 1	Decorative broom		etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//rel_U	p/rel
39	Est	Pass	Di 2	"*Petrykivka*"-style painted wooden plate	paint	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//rel_U	p/rel
40	Est	Pass	Di 2a	"*Petrykivka*"-style painted wooden plate	paint	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//rel_U	p/rel
41	Est	Pass	Di 3	Ceramic rooster jug	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//mother	p/mother
42	Est	Pass	Di 4	Plastic doll in Ukrainian dress		etic	nov	ukr	dec	g//rel_U	p/rel
43	Est	Pass	Di 4a	Plastic doll in Ukrainian dress		etic	nov	ukr	dec	g//rel_U	p/rel
44	Est	Pass	Di 5	Small dried wedding bread	bread	etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	g/wed//rel_C	ev/wed
45	Est	Pass	Di 6	"Svitoch" chocolates		etic	misc	ukr	met	g//rel_U	p/rel
46	Est	Pass	Di 7	Framed embroidery with a ballet-dancer		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	g//grm	p/grm
47	Est	Pass	Di 7a	Framed embroidery with a ballet-dancer		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	g//grm	p/grm
48	Est	Pass	Di 8	China dinner-set		emic	misc	non-ukr	displ	inherit//grm	p/grm//old//exper
49	Est	Act	Ho 1	"Basil" painting by Larisa Cheladyn		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	sym
50	Est	Act	Ho 2	Still-life with flowers by an artist from Ukraine		emic	fine	ukr	dec	pur	form
51	Est	Act	Ho 3	Painting by Bohdan Berezhevskyi		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	form//relig//sym
52	Est	Act	Ho 3a	Painting by Bohdan Berezhevskyi		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	relig//sym
53	Est	Act	Ho 3b	Painting by Bohdan Berezhevskyi		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	relig//sym
54	Est	Act	Ho 4	Painting by Peter Shostak		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	exper

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditi-onal Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geogra-phical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
55	Est	Act	Ho 4a	Painting by Peter Shostak		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	no
56	Est	Act	Ho 4b	Painting by Peter Shostak		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	no
57	Est	Act	Ho 5	Bronze statue of a Ukrainian dancing couple		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	g//friend	p/ch
58	Est	Act	Ho 6	*Kobzar f*igurine by Audrey Uzwyshyn	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g	no
59	Est	Act	Ho 7	Icon of the Holy Mother	icon	etic	imitat	un	displ	g	relig
60	Est	Act	Ho 7a	Embroidered towel on the icon	embr	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	form//inexp
61	Est	Act	Ho 8	Hutsul wood-carved box	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	displ	g	no
62	Est	Act	Ho 9	Porcelain ram by Audrey Uzwyshyn	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur//maker	collect
63	Est	Act	Ho 9a	Porcelain ram by Audrey Uzwyshyn	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur//maker	collect
64	Est	Act	Ho 10	Clay bell with the images of the Holy Mother and Baby Jesus	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	form//relig
65	Est	Act	Ho 11	Cross-stitch embroidered tray		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	g//sister	form
66	Est	Act	Ho 12	Clay plate with a woman shoving bread in the oven		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	g//Chr	p/ch// sym
67	Est	Act	Ho 13	Drawing with mushrooms by an Albertan artist		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	sub
68	Est	Act	Ho 13a	Drawing with mushrooms by an Albertan artist		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	sub
69	Est	Act	Ho 14	Ceramic rooster	cer	emic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//oth	sym
70	Est	Act	Ho 15	Dried wedding bread	bread	etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	g/wed	no

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
71	Est	Act	Hor 1	Painting with trees by a pond. Done by respondent's father.		emic	fine	ukr	dec	inherit//father	p/father//soc
72	Est	Act	Hor 2	Painting with the interior of the church in the village in Ukraine where respondent's grandfather was a priest. Done by respondent's father.		etic	fine	ukr	dec	inherit//father	p/father//exper
73	Est	Act	Hor 3	Painting of R's village in Ukraine in the 1930s. Done by respondent's father.		etic	fine	ukr	dec	inherit//father	p/father//exper
74	Est	Act	Hor 4	"*Petrykivka*"- style painted wooden box	paint	etic	imitat	ukr	displ	g/Chr//dau	p/ch
75	Est	Act	Hor 5	Hutsul wood-carved box	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	g	no
76	Est	Act	Hor 6	Hutsul ceramic bowl	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	un	authent
77	Est	Act	Hor 7	Hutsul ceramic "twins" mug	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	un	form//trad
78	Est	Act	Hor 7a	Hutsul ceramic "twins" mug	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	un	form//trad
79	Est	Act	Hor 8	Ceramic jug	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	displ	g//friend	form
80	Est	Act	Hor 9	Hutsul ceramic "circle" jug	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	displ	un	authent
81	Est	Act	Hor 10	Ceramic lion	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	form
82	Est	Act	Hor 11	Teddy-bear in Ukrainian dress		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	g//friend	p/friend//soc
83	Est	Act	Hor 12	Cossack Mamai figure	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//oth	p/friend//exper
84	Est	Act	Hor 13	Wooden Easter egg	egg	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g	no
85	Est	Act	Hor 14	"*Petrykivka*"-style painted cutting board	paint	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//dau	form
86	Est	Act	Hor 15	Hutsul wood-carved *mysnyk*	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	un	sym//exper
87	Est	Act	Hor 16	Ceramic vase with "*Trypillia*" design		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	g	soc

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
88	Est	Act	Hor 17	Embroidered cushion. Done by respondent's mother	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	inherit//mother	p/mother//form//trad//soc
89	Est	Act	Hor 17a	Embroidered cushion. Done by respondent's mother	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	inherit//mother	p/mother//form//trad//soc
90	Est	Act	Hor 17b	Embroidered cushion. Done by respondent's mother	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	inherit//mother	p/mother//form//trad//soc
91	Est	Act	Hor 18	"Taras Shevchenko" portrait by Bohdan Lepkyi		etic	fine	ukr	dec	un	no
92	Est	Act	Hor 19	Painting by V. Krychevsky		emic	fine	ukr	dec	un	no
93	Est	Act	Hor 20	Ceramic container	cer	etic	imitat	un	displ	un	no
94	Est	Act	Hor 20a	Ceramic container	cer	etic	imitat	un	displ	un	no
95	Est	Act	Jo 1	Easter eggs in glass case	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur	form//sym
96	Est	Act	Jo 2	Wooden candle-holder	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	g//rel_U	util
97	Est	Act	Jo 3	Candle with decal cross-stitch design		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	g//mother	p/mother//soc
98	Est	Act	Jo 4	Curtains with printed cross-stitch design		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec/other	self	sym
99	Est	Act	Kach 1	"Is That Your Baba's Coat?" painting by Peter Shostak		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	soc
100	Est	Act	Kach 2	Wood-carved cane with ram-shaped handle	wood	emic	imitat	non-ukr	met	pur	soc//sym//exper
101	Est	Act	Kach 3	Flower arrangement made of straw and paper		emic	misc	ukr	dec	pur	uniq
102	Est	Act	Kach 4	Set of stacking dolls		emic	misc	ukr	dec	rel_U	p/ch
103	Est	Act	Kach 5	Porcelain ram by Audrey Uzwyshyn	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	maker	form//sub

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
	Sample Plane I	Sample Plane II	Object Code	Object Description	Traditional Genre	Emic/ Etic	Type of Art	Geographical Origin	Function	Means of Acquisition	Meaning
104	Est	Act	Kach 5a	Porcelain ram by Audrey Uzwyshyn	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	maker	form//sub
105	Est	Act	Kach 5b	Porcelain ram by Audrey Uzwyshyn	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	maker	form//sub
106	Est	Act	Kach 6	Easter eggs in bowl	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	self	p/ch
107	Est	Act	Kach 7	Ceramic coffee-set		emic	misc	ukr	displ	g/oth	no
108	Est	Act	Kach 8	Hutsul glazed ceramic plate	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	uniq
109	Est	Act	Kach 8a	Hutsul glazed ceramic plate	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	uniq
110	Est	Act	Kach 9	Hutsul ceramic jug	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g/rel_U	no
111	Est	Act	Kach 9a	Hutsul ceramic jug	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g/rel_U	no
112	Est	Act	Kach 10	Gilded sheaf of wheat		etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	self	p/ch
113	Est	Act	Kach 11	"Apples" painting by a Ukrainian artist from South America		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur//maker	p/maker//form
114	Est	Act	Kach 12	Framed poster of a Jacques Hnizdovsky's graphic		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	p/maker
115	Est	Act	Kach 12a	Framed poster of a Jacques Hnizdovsky's graphic		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	p/maker
116	Est	Act	Kach 12b	Framed poster of a Jacques Hnizdovsky's graphic		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur//maker	p/maker
117	Est	Act	Kach 13	Wooden cross	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//rel_U	trad
118	Est	Act	Kach 14	Hutzul ceramic tile	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	uniq

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	Sample Plane I	Sample Plane II	Object Code	Object Description	Traditional Genre	Emic/ Etic	Type of Art	Geographical Origin	Function	Means of Acquisition	Meaning
119	Est	Act	Kach 14a	Hutzul ceramic tile	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	uniq
120	Est	Act	Kach 15	Painting with a Lviv scene by the artist from Ukraine Fediv		etic	fine	ukr	dec	g//rel_U	exper
121	Est	Act	Kach 16	Set of wooden flutes	music	etic	imitat	ukr	met	pur	collect
122	Est	Pass	Kay 1	Easter-eggs in glass case	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/Chr//rel_C	form
123	Est	Pass	Kay 2	"Perogy" fridge magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	pur	collect
124	Est	Pass	Kay 3	"Easter-egg" fridge magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	pur/other	collect
125	Est	Pass	Kay 4	"Ukrainian Kitchen" fridge magnet		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	g/Chr//friend	collect//soc
126	Est	Pass	Kay 5	"Peasant women" magnet made of corn husks		emic	nov	non-ukr	displ	pur	collect
127	Est	Pass	Kay 6	Easter eggs in framed glass case	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/Chr//rel_C	p/rel
128	Est	Pass	Kay 6a	Easter eggs in framed glass case	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/Chr//rel_C	p/rel
129	Est	Pass	Kay 7	Figurine of a woman in kerchief made of mud from the Nile river		emic	nov	non-ukr	dec	pur/other	soc//sym//exper
130	Est	Act	Kry 1	Decal ceramic dancer figurine		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	g//friend	p/friend
131	Est	Act	Kry 1a	Pussy-willows in vase		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	relig
132	Est	Act	Kry 2	Decal ceramic vase		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	g	util

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	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
133	Est	Act	Kry 3	Decal ceramic angel		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	g//oth	no
134	Est	Act	Kry 4	Embroidered serviette	embr	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//rel_U	p/rel//soc
135	Est	Act	Kry 4a	Embroidered serviette	embr	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//rel_U	p/rel//soc
136	Est	Act	Kry 5	Ceramic doll in Ukrainian dress	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//wed	ev/wed//uniq
137	Est	Act	Kry 5a	Ceramic doll in Ukrainian dress	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//wed	ev/wed//uniq
138	Est	Act	Kry 6	Easter eggs in glass case	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//pur//self//friend	trad
139	Est	Act	Kry 7	Wedding bread	bread	etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	g/wed	ev/wed
140	Est	Act	Kry 7a	Smaller wedding bread	bread	etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	g/wed	ev/wed
141	Est	Act	Kry 7b	Smaller wedding bread	bread	etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	g/wed	ev/wed
142	Est	Act	Kry 8	Decal ceramic salt and pepper-shakers		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	pur	collect
143	Est	Act	Kry 9	Decal ceramic cream pitcher		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	g/wed	ev/wed
144	Est	Act	Kry 9a	Decal ceramic sugar container		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	g/wed	ev/wed
145	Est	Act	Kry 9b	Decal ceramic tray		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	g/wed	ev/wed
146	Est	Act	Kry 10	"I Think My Boots are High Enough" painting by Peter Shostak		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	g/other//friend	ev/h-bl//exper
147	Est	Act	Kry 11	"Tigh It with a Double Knot" painting by Peter Shostak		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	exper

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	Sample Plane I	Sample Plane II	Object Code	Object Description	Traditional Genre	Emic/ Etic	Type of Art	Geographical Origin	Function	Means of Acquisition	Meaning
148	Est	Act	Kry 12	"Easter egg" fridge magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g	util
149	Est	Act	Kry 13	Fridge magnet with a farm scene		emic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g//dau	exper
150	Est	Act	Kry 13a	Fridge magnet with a farm scene		emic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g//dau	exper
151	Est	Act	Kry 14	Ceramic vase	cer	emic	imitat	non-ukr	dec/other	g	util//sym
152	Est	Act	Kry 14a	Ceramic vase	cer	emic	imitat	non-ukr	dec/other	g	util//sym
153	Est	Act	Kry 15	Decal ceramic flower pot		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	un	no
154	Est	Act	Kry 16	Framed petit-point embroidery with floral design		emic	nov	non-ukr	dec	g	no
155	Est	Act	Kry 16a	Framed petit-point embroidery with floral design		emic	nov	non-ukr	dec	g	no
156	Est	Act	Kry 17	Wooden plate with the image of Ivan Franko		etic	misc	un	dec	g/wed//friend	ev/wed
157	Est	Act	Kry 17a	Wooden plate with the image of Taras Shevchenko		etic	misc	un	dec	g/wed//friend	ev/wed
158	Est	Act	Kry 18	"Welcome" ceramic doll in Ukrainian dress		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	g/other	ev/h-w//sym
159	Est	Act	Kry 19	Set of ceramic pots by Audrey Uzwyshyn	cer	emic	imitat	non-ukr	dec/other	un	no
160	Est	Act	Kry 20	Painting by Halyna Kosarych		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	un	p/maker//p/rel
161	Est	Act	Kry 20a	Painting by Halyna Kosarych		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	un	p/maker//p/rel

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	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditi-onal Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geogra-phical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
162	Est	Act	Kry 21	Framed embroidered prayer		etic	misc	non-ukr	dec	g//friend	no
163	Est	Pass	Lo 2	"Wreath" fridge magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	self	sym
164	Est	Pass	Lo 3	Doll in Ukrainian dress		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	self	ev/show
165	Est	Act	Mak 1	Graphic with sheep by Jacques Hnizdovsky		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	sub//sym
166	Est	Act	Mak 1a	Graphic with sheep by Jacques Hnizdovsky		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	sub//sym
167	Est	Act	Mak 2	"Lukash with the flute" wood-carved plate	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	no
168	Est	Act	Mak 3	Ceramic vase with "*Trypillia*" design		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	inherit//mother	p/mother//form
169	Est	Act	Mak 4	Ceramic vase with "*Trypillia*" design		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	g//mother	p/mother//form
170	Est	Act	Mak 4a	Ceramic vase with "*Trypillia*" design		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	g//mother	p/mother//form
171	Est	Act	Mak 4b	Ceramic vase with "*Trypillia*" design		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	pur	form
172	Est	Act	Mak 4c	Ceramic bowl with "*Trypillia*" design		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	pur	form
173	Est	Act	Mak 4d	Ceramic jug with "*Trypillia*" design		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	g//mother	p/mother//form
174	Est	Act	Mak 4e	Ceramic jug with "*Trypillia*" design		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	g//mother	p/mother//form
175	Est	Act	Mak 4f	Ceramic jug with "*Trypillia*" design		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	g//mother	p/mother//form

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Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
176 Est	Act	Mak 4g	Ears of wheat in *"Trypillia"* vase		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	sym
177 Est	Act	Mak 4h	Ears of wheat in *"Trypillia"* vase		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	sym
178 Est	Act	Mak 5	Photoalbum with wood-carved cover decorated with geometric design		etic	nov	ukr	displ	g//rel_U	no
179 Est	Act	Mak 6	Hutsul wooden triple candle-holder	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	displ	g//rel_U	no
180 Est	Act	Mak 7	Vase with ears of wheat made of glass		emic	nov	non-ukr	dec	pur	sym//exper
181 Est	Act	Mak 8	Ram by Audrey Uzwyshyn	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur//maker	sub//sym
182 Est	Act	Mak 8a	Ram by Audrey Uzwyshyn	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur//maker	sub//sym
183 Est	Act	Mak 9	Ceramic vase with geometric design from Greece		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	pur	sym
184 Est	Act	Mak 10	Wood-carved plate with images of Hutsuls	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	no
185 Est	Act	Mak 11	Woven runner with geometric design	weav	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//mother	p/mother//trad
186 Est	Act	Mak 12	Hetman wooden bulava		etic	misc	ukr	dec	pur	form//sym
187 Est	Act	Mak 12a	Ceramic cossack figurine	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	no
188 Est	Act	Mak 13	Bandura	music	etic	imitat	un	met	pur	p/ch
189 Est	Act	Mak 14	Easter eggs in bowl	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/wed//self//friend//ch	ev/wed//p/ch
190 Est	Act	Mak 14A	Easter eggs in bowl	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/wed//self //friend	ev/wed//p/friend

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	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditi-onal Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geogra-phical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
191	Est	Act	Mak 14a	Easter eggs in glass case	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//self//mother//grm	p/mother
192	Est	Act	Mak 14b	Easter eggs in glass case	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/wed//friend	no
193	Est	Act	Mak 15	Pending Easter eggs on strings		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	self	soc//sym//exper
194	Est	Act	Mak 16	Framed petit-point embroidery with Ukrainian peasants		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	g//friend	ev/birth//p/ch//p/friend
195	Est	Act	Mak 16a	Framed petit-point embroidery with Ukrainian peasants		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	g//friend	ev/birth//p/friend
196	Est	Act	Mak 17	Painting with sunflowers by Vadim Dobrolige		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	p/friend//p/maker
197	Est	Act	Mak 17a	Painting with poppies by Vadim Dobrolige		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	p/friend//p/maker//exper
198	Est	Act	Mak 18	Set of Christmas-tree decorations with the motifs of girls in Ukrainian dress		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g	no
199	Est	Act	Mak 19	Tea-set with corn-flower motifs		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec/other	g//friend	sym
200	Est	Act	Op 1	"Prairie Madonna-Ternopil" by Ben Wasylyshen (copy)		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	sym
201	Est	Act	Op 2	Bandura	music	etic	imitat	un	met	pur	p/ch
202	Est	Act	Op 3	Painting with poppies by Larisa Cheladyn		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur//maker	sub//sym
203	Est	Act	Op 4	Painting with a church and sunset		etic	fine	ukr	dec	pur/other	exper
204	Est	Act	Op 6	Painting with poppies by Larisa Cheladyn		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur//maker	sub

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Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
205 Est	Act	Op 7	Painting with poppies		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	sym
206 Est	Act	Op 8	"Last Supper" icon in wood-carved painted frame	icon	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//maker	p/maker//p/rel
207 Est	Act	Op 9	Embroidery with a cross in wood-carved painted frame	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//maker	p/maker//p/rel
208 Est	Act	Op 9a	Embroidered towel on the framed embroidery	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//rel_U	p/rel
209 Est	Act	Op 9b	Pussy-willows on the icon		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	relig
210 Est	Act	Op 10	Painted plate	paint	emic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//rel_C	p/rel
211 Est	Act	Op 11	Wood-carved plate	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	form
212 Est	Act	Op 12	Wooden plate with the Warrior		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	pur	sym
213 Est	Act	Op 12a	Wooden plate with the Snow-maid		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	pur	sym
214 Est	Act	Op 13	Cross-stitch embroidered tray		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g/other//friend	p/friend
215 Est	Act	Op 14	Wood-carved plate	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	no
216 Est	Act	Op 15	Porcelain plate with poppies		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	pur	sym
217 Est	Act	Op 16	Ceramic plate	cer	emic	imitat	non-ukr	dec/other	pur//maker	util
218 Est	Act	Op 17	Easter eggs in bowl	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	self	no
219 Est	Act	Op 17a	Easter egg in egg-stand	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	self	no

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	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
220	Est	Act	Op 17b	Easter egg in egg-stand	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	self	no
221	Est	Act	Op 18	Gilded sheaf of wheat		etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	g//ch	ev/show//sym
222	Est	Act	Op 18a	Gilded sheaf of wheat		etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	g//ch	ev/show//sym
223	Est	Act	Op 19	Wooden candle-holder	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	pur	util
224	Est	Act	Op 19a	Wooden candle-holder	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	pur	util
225	Est	Act	Op 20	Dough dove	bread	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/wed	ev/wed
226	Est	Act	Op 21	Dough dove	bread	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/wed	ev/wed
227	Est	Act	Op 22	Ram by Audrey Uzwyshyn	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur//maker	no
228	Est	Act	Op 23	Ceramic figurine of a peasant lady with bread	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur//maker	sym
229	Est	Act	Op 24	Clay Ukrainian peasant figurine	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	soc
230	Est	Act	Op 24a	Clay Ukrainian peasant figurine	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	soc
231	Est	Act	Op 24b	Wreath made of ears of wheat	straw	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g/other//ch	ev/show
232	Est	Act	Op 25	Ceramic jug	cer	emic	imitat	un	dec	g//friend	no
233	Est	Act	Op 26	"Easter Breads" painting by Larisa Cheladyn		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	sym
234	Est	Act	Op 27	Hutsul ceramic doll	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/other//oth	ev/ret
235	Est	Act	Op 27a	Hutsul ceramic doll	cer	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/other//oth	ev/ret
236	Est	Act	Op 28	"Shumka" mug		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	g//ch	p/ch

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	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
237	Est	Act	Op 29	"Ukrainian Dancer" wooden fridge magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g//ch	p/ch
238	Est	Act	Op 29a	"Ukrainian Dancer" wooden fridge magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g//ch	p/ch
239	Est	Act	Op 29b	"Ukrainian Dancer" wooden fridge magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g//ch	p/ch
240	Est	Act	Op 30	"Cross" fridge magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g//ch	p/ch
241	Est	Act	Op 30a	"Cross" fridge magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g//ch	p/ch
242	Est	Act	Op 31	"Ukrainian Girl" fridge magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	un	no
243	Est	Act	Op 32	"Shumka" magnet		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	g//ch	no
244	Est	Act	Op 33	Easter eggs under the glass cover in the coffee table	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	self	no
245	Est	Act	Op 34a	Miniature bandura under the glass cover in the coffee table		etic	nov	ukr	dec	pur	no
246	Est	Act	Op 34b	Set of wooden pipes under the glass cover in the coffee table	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	no
247	Est	Act	Op 34c	Hetman wooden bulava		etic	misc	ukr	dec	pur/other	no
248	Est	Act	Op 35	Ukrainian peasant hummel doll		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	pur/other	form//collect
249	Est	Act	Op 36	Ceramic rooster	cer	emic	imitat	un	dec	un	collect//sym
250	Est	Act	Op 36a	Ceramic rooster	cer	emic	imitat	un	dec	un	collect//sym
251	Est	Act	Op 37	Ceramic mushroom composition		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	g/wed//friend	ev/wed//sym
252	Est	Act	Op 38a	Straw-woven decoration	straw	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur	no

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	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
253	Est	Act	Op 38b	Ceramic jug	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//friend	no
254	Est	Act	Op 38c	Set of stacking dolls		emic	misc	ukr	dec	pur	no
255	Est	Pass	Pro 1	Chest		emic	act	non-ukr	met	inherit//Grm	p/grm//soc//old//trad//
256	Est	Pass	Pro 2	Easter egg	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//friend	p/friend//trad
257	Est	Pass	Pro 3	Iron sickle		emic	act	non-ukr	met	pur/sec	inexp//old//authent
258	Est	Pass	Pro 4	Icon	icon	emic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur/sec	trad//sym
259	Est	Pass	Pro 4a	Icon	icon	emic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	pur/sec	trad//sym
260	Est	Pass	Pro 5	Pool cue		emic	misc	non-ukr	met	inherit//grf	p/grfather
261	Est	Pass	Pro 6	Match holder		emic	misc	non-ukr	met	inherit//grm	p/grm
262	Est	Pass	Pro 7	Wooden sign from the father's office in Lamont, Alberta		emic	misc	non-ukr	met	inherit//father	p/father//soc
263	Est	Pass	Ro 1	Painting with a floral scenery (lithograph)		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	form
264	Est	Pass	Ro 4	Table cloth with printed cross-stitch design		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec/other	g/Chr//sister	util
265	Est	Pass	Ro 5	Paper cross in yellow and blue (hangs on the fridge)		etic	misc	non-ukr	dec	church	no
266	Est	Pass	Ro 6	Porcelain Ukrainian couple figurine		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	pur/other	inexp//uniq
267	Est	Pass	Ro 8	Copper plate with a farm scene		emic	nov	non-ukr	dec	pur/other	util//exper

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	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
268	Est	Pass	Ro 9	Family coat of arms		etic	misc	non-ukr	dec	pur	p/f-m//soc
269	Est	Pass	Ro 9a	Family coat of arms		etic	misc	non-ukr	dec	pur	p/f-m//soc
270	Est	Pass	Ro 10	Painting with a farm scene by Rod McLain		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	exp//exper
271	Imm	Act	Sem 1	Black-ceramic jug	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	displ	pur/craft	form
272	Imm	Act	Sem 1a	Black-ceramic jug	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	displ	pur/craft	form
273	Imm	Act	Sem 2	Hutsul ceramic plate	cer	etic	act	ukr	dec	pur/other	old
274	Imm	Act	Sem 2a	Hutsul ceramic plate	cer	etic	act	ukr	dec	pur/other	old
275	Imm	Act	Sem 3	Glass wine bottle		emic	misc	ukr	met	inherit//rel_U	old//p/rel
276	Imm	Act	Sem 3a	Glass wine bottle		emic	misc	ukr	met	inherit//rel_U	old//p/rel
277	Imm	Act	Sem 3b	Glass wine bottle		emic	misc	ukr	met	inherit//rel_U	old//p/rel
278	Imm	Act	Sem 5	Ceramic plate	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/other	p/grm
279	Imm	Act	Sem 6	Ceramic plate	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	form
280	Imm	Act	Sem 6a	Ceramic plate	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	form
281	Imm	Act	Sem 7	Woven rug on the wall	weav	etic	act	ukr	dec	inherit//grm	p/grm
282	Imm	Act	Sem 8	Easter eggs in bowl	egg	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur//g//rel_C//g//mother	form//authent//trad//exper
283	Imm	Act	Sem 8e	Easter egg in wrap		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	ch-m	p/ch
284	Imm	Act	Sem 9	Ukrainian country-scene composition		etic	nov	ukr	dec	oth	ev/other
285	Imm	Act	Sem 10	Straw-woven cross	straw	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	rel_C	no
286	Imm	Act	Sem 11	Black-ceramic pot	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	pur/craft	form
287	Imm	Act	Sem 12	Ceramic jug	cer	emic	act	ukr	met	inherit//Grm	p/Grm//old//exper
288	Imm	Act	Sem 13	Butter scoop		emic	act	ukr	met	inherit//grm	p/grm//old

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
	Sample Plane I	Sample Plane II	Object Code	Object Description	Traditional Genre	Emic/ Etic	Type of Art	Geographical Origin	Function	Means of Acquisition	Meaning
289	Imm	Act	Sem 15	Glass cherry decoration		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	pur/sec	exper
290	Imm	Act	Sem 16	Ears of wheat in vase		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	no
291	Imm	Act	Sem 16a	Pussy willows in vase		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	no
292	Imm	Act	Sem 17	Dried poppies in vase		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	no
293	Imm	Act	Sem 18	Hutsul ceramic pot		etic	act	ukr	met	un	no
294	Imm	Act	Sem 19	Painting by a contemporary Ukrainian artist		etic	fine	ukr	dec	pur	no
295	Imm	Act	Sem 19a	Painting by a contemporary Ukrainian artist		etic	fine	ukr	dec	g	no
296	Imm	Act	Sem 19b	Painting by a contemporary Ukrainian artist		etic	fine	ukr	dec	g	no
297	Est	Act	Skr 1	Collection of clay whistles	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	displ	pur	p/grm//collect
298	Est	Act	Skr 2	Hutsul ceramic jug	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	displ	pur	authent
299	Est	Act	Skr 2a	Hutsul ceramic jug	cer	etic	imitat	ukr	displ	pur	authent
300	Est	Act	Skr 3	Hutsul wooden triple candle-holder	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	un	sym
301	Est	Act	Skr 3a	Hutsul wooden triple candle-holder	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	un	sym
302	Est	Act	Skr 4	Painting by Ivan Izhakevych		emic	fine	ukr	dec	pur	old
303	Est	Act	Skr 5	Hutsul woven rug	weav	etic	act	ukr	dec	inherit//grm	p/rel//old
304	Est	Act	Skr 6	Embroidered table cloth	embr	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	form
305	Est	Act	Skr 7	Blown-glass rooster	glass	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	trad
306	Est	Act	Skr 8	Tapestry representing a particular region in Ukraine	tape	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	collect//authent// soc

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	Sample Plane I	Sample Plane II	Object Code	Object Description	Traditional Genre	Emic/ Etic	Type of Art	Geographical Origin	Function	Means of Acquisition	Meaning
307	Est	Act	Skr 8a	Tapestry representing a particular region in Ukraine	tape	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	collect//authent// soc
308	Est	Act	Skr 8b	Tapestry representing a particular region in Ukraine	tape	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	collect//authent// soc
309	Est	Act	Skr 8c	Tapestry representing a particular region in Ukraine	tape	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	collect//authent// soc
310	Est	Act	Skr 8d	Tapestry representing a particular region in Ukraine	tape	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	collect//authent// soc
311	Est	Act	Skr 9	Painting by Gregory Kruk		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	no
312	Est	Act	Skr 10	Sculpture by Alexander. Archipenko (replica)		emic	fine	un	dec	pur	no
313	Est	Act	Skr 10a	Sculpture by Alexander. Archipenko (replica)		emic	fine	un	dec	pur	no
314	Est	Act	Skr 10b	Sculpture by Alexander. Archipenko (replica)		emic	fine	un	dec	pur	no
315	Est	Act	Skr 11	Work by a Ukrainian sculptor (replica)		emic	fine	un	dec	pur	no
316	Est	Act	Skr 11a	Work by a Ukrainian sculptor (replica)		emic	fine	un	dec	pur	no
317	Est	Act	Skr 11b	Work by a Ukrainian sculptor (replica)		emic	fine	un	dec	pur	no
318	Est	Act	Skr 11c	Work by a Ukrainian sculptor (replica)		emic	fine	un	dec	pur	no
319	Est	Act	Skr 11d	Work by a Ukrainian sculptor (replica)		emic	fine	un	dec	pur	no
320	Est	Act	Skr 12	Easter eggs	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	self	no

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	Sample Plane I	Sample Plane II	Object Code	Object Description	Traditional Genre	Emic/ Etic	Type of Art	Geographical Origin	Function	Means of Acquisition	Meaning
321	Est	Act	Skr 13	Work by Jacques Hnizdovsky		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	no
322	Est	Act	Skr 13a	Work by Jacques Hnizdovsky		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	no
323	Est	Act	Skr 13b	Work by Jacques Hnizdovsky		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur	no
324	Est	Act	Skr 14	Ears of wheat in vase		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	no
325	Imm	Act	Sla 1	Painting with poppies and ears of wheat by a Lviv artist		etic	fine	ukr	dec	pur	exper
326	Imm	Act	Sla 2	Plastic poppies		emic	nov	non-ukr	dec	pur	exper
327	Imm	Act	Sla 3	Icon	icon	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	no
328	Imm	Act	Sla 5	Painting with flowers		emic	fine	ukr	dec	home	exper
329	Imm	Act	Sla 5a	Painting with flowers		emic	fine	ukr	dec	home	exper
330	Imm	Act	Sla 6	Smaller icon	icon	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	ch-m	p/ch
331	Imm	Act	Sla 6a	Smaller icon	icon	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	ch-m	p/ch
332	Imm	Act	Sla 7	Wooden Easter egg	egg	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	ch-m	no
333	Imm	Act	Sla 8	Hutsul wood-carved box	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	displ	pur	no
334	Imm	Act	Sla 9	Porcelain Ukrainian peasant doll		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	g//rel_C	no
335	Imm	Act	Sla 10	Miniature sheaf of wheat		etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	g//ch	p/ch
336	Imm	Act	Sla 11	Embroidered serviette	embr	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	home//self	exper
337	Imm	Act	Sla 12	Pussy willows		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	relig
338	Imm	Act	Sla 13	Painting with a Lviv scene		etic	fine	ukr	dec	pur	exper

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	Sample Plane I	Sample Plane II	Object Code	Object Description	Traditional Genre	Emic/ Etic	Type of Art	Geographical Origin	Function	Means of Acquisition	Meaning
339	Imm	Act	Sla 14	Hutsul wood-carved plate	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//friend	no
340	Imm	Act	Sla 15	Painting with a Ukrainian countryside scene		etic	fine	ukr	dec	g/other//friend	p/friend//soc
341	Imm	Act	Sla 16	Painting with guildrose		etic	fine	ukr	dec	pur	no
342	Imm	Act	Sla 16a	Straw-woven decoration	straw	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g//rel_C	no
343	Imm	Act	Sla 17	Miniature embroidered towel	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	ch-m	p/ch
344	Imm	Act	Sla 18	Miniature icon	icon	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	ch-m	form
345	Imm	Act	Sla 19	Straw-woven chicken	straw	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	home	exper
346	Imm	Act	Sla 20	Ukrainian religious calendar		etic	misc	non-ukr	dec/other	pur	util
347	Imm	Act	Sla 21	Ceramic tea-pot		emic	misc	ukr	dec/other	home	exper
348	Imm	Act	Sla 21a	Decal ceramic vase		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	g//rel_C	util
349	Imm	Act	Sla 22	Miniature embroidered pillow	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	ch-m	p/ch
350	Imm	Act	Tsi 1	Icon	icon	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	relig//inexp//sym
351	Imm	Act	Tsi 1	Pussy willows on the icon		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	relig
352	Imm	Act	Tsi 2	Hutsul wood-carved plate	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	ev/wed//form// sym
353	Imm	Act	Tsi 3	Embroidered pillow	embr	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	no
354	Imm	Act	Tsi 4	Embroidered serviette	embr	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	no
355	Imm	Act	Tsi 5	Icon	icon	etic	act	ukr	dec	inherit//grm	p/rel//relig//old
356	Imm	Act	Tsi 6	Icon	icon	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	no
357	Imm	Act	Tsi 7	Ceramic mug	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	dec	home	form//exper
358	Imm	Act	Tsi 7a	Ceramic mug	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	dec	home	form//exper
359	Imm	Act	Tsi 8	Crystal ware		emic	misc	ukr	displ	home	exper

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	Sample Plane I	Sample Plane II	Object Code	Object Description	Traditional Genre	Emic/ Etic	Type of Art	Geographical Origin	Function	Means of Acquisition	Meaning
360	Imm	Act	Tsi 9	Painted cutting board	paint	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//sister	no
361	Imm	Act	Tsi 9a	Painted cutting board	paint	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//sister	no
362	Imm	Act	Tsi 10	Ceramic vase	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	uniq
363	Imm	Act	Tsi 10a	Ceramic vase	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	uniq
364	Imm	Act	Tsi 10b	Ceramic vase	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	uniq
365	Imm	Act	Tsi 11	Hutsul wooden triple candle-holder	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	pur	util
366	Imm	Act	Tsi 12	Ceramic vase	cer	emic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	p/ch
367	Imm	Act	Tsi 13	Miniature Hutsul wooden doll	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	no
368	Imm	Act	Tsi 13a	Miniature Hutsul wooden doll	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur	no
369	Est	Pass	Tym 1	Easter eggs in framed case	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/Chr//rel_C	p/mother//p/grm// p/rel//exper
370	Est	Pass	Tym 2	Easter eggs in bowl	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	g/other//sister	p/rel
371	Est	Pass	Tym 4	Glasses with cross-stitch design		etic	nov	un	displ	un	no
372	Est	Pass	Tym 5	Painting with a farm scene		emic	fine	non-ukr	dec	g//friend	p/friend//exper
373	Est	Pass	Tym 6	Wooden Easter egg	egg	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g/friend	no
374	Est	Pass	Tym 7	Set of Hutsul wooden shooting cups and a bottle	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	g//rel_U	exper
375	Est	Pass	Tym 8	"Perogy" magnet		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	pur	no
376	Est	Act	Vin1	Decal name mug		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g/other//friend	ev/h-w//sym
377	Est	Act	Vin 1a	Decal name mug		etic	nov	non-ukr	displ	g/other//friend	ev/h-w//sym
378	Est	Act	Vin 2	Plastic plate with Ukrainian dancers		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	pur/sec	soc

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	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditi-onal Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geogra-phical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
379	Est	Act	Vin 2a	Plastic plate with Ukrainian dancers		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	pur/sec	soc
380	Est	Act	Vin 3	"Ukrainian" flashlight		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	self	soc
381	Est	Act	Vin 4	Gilded sheaf of wheat		etic	imitat	non-ukr	displ	g/wed//friend	ev/wed
382	Est	Act	Vin 5	"Four seasons" painting by Lidia Prituliak		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	g//maker	ev/show
383	Est	Act	Vin 6	"Cossacks Writing a Letter to Sultan" painting by Ilia Repin		etic	fine	ukr	dec	pur	soc//exper
384	Est	Act	Vin 7	Portrait of Taras Shevchenko by Bohdan Lepkyi (reproduction)		etic	fine	ukr	dec	pur	exper//soc
385	Est	Act	Vin 7a	Embroidered towel over the Shevchenko portrait	embr	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/other	exper//sym
386	Est	Act	Vin 8	Framed poster with a Ukrainian shirt		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	pur	soc
387	Est	Act	Vin 9	Bandura	music	etic	imitat	ukr	met	pur	exper
388	Est	Pass	Wer 1	"Ukrainian novelty" set		etic	misc	non-ukr	dec	self	soc
389	Est	Pass	Wer 3	"Ukrainian" chain-saw		etic	misc	non-ukr	dec	self	soc
390	Est	Act	Yuz 1	Plastic doll in Ukrainian dress		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	inherit//grm	p/mother//p/grm
391	Est	Act	Yuz 1a	Plastic doll in Ukrainian dress		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	inherit//grm	p/mother//p/grm
392	Est	Act	Yuz 2	Photoalbum with wood-carved cover decorated with geometric design		etic	nov	ukr	dec/other	g/other//friend	exper

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	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
393	Est	Act	Yuz 3	Easter eggs in bowl	egg	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	self	no
394	Est	Act	Yuz 4	Embroidered pillow	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	inherit//grm	p/grm
395	Est	Act	Yuz 5	Painting with an old lady making an Easter egg		etic	fine	non-ukr	dec	pur/other	p/grm
396	Est	Act	Yuz 6	Wooden flute	music	etic	imitat	ukr	met	pur	form
397	Est	Act	Yuz 7	Decal ceramic candy-dish		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec/other	inherit//mother	p/mother//uniq
398	Est	Act	Yuz 8	Hutsul wood-carved plate	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	form
399	Est	Act	Yuz 8a	Hutsul wood-carved decorative axe	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec	pur/craft	form//soc
400	Est	Act	Yuz 9	Hutsul wood-carved mug	wood	etic	imitat	ukr	dec/other	pur	form
401	Est	Act	Yuz 10	Pussi-willows		etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	veg/self	relig
402	Est	Act	Yuz 11	Portrait of Taras Shevchenko		etic	fine	ukr	dec	pur	soc
403	Est	Act	Yuz 12	Ukrainian religious calendar		etic	misc	non-ukr	dec/other	church	util
404	Est	Act	Yuz 13	"Last Supper" embroidery		emic	misc	non-ukr	dec	self	no
405	Est	Act	Yuz 14	Embroidery with a cross	embr	etic	imitat	non-ukr	dec	inherit//grm	p/grm
406	Est	Act	Yuz 15	Miniature bandura		etic	nov	ukr	dec	g//friend	no
407	Est	Act	Yuz 16	Miniature leather shoes (*postoly*)		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	g/other//oth	ev/ret//exper
408	Est	Act	Yuz 17	Painted wooden plate with a Ukrainian village scene		etic	nov	ukr	dec	pur/other	form//exper
409	Est	Act	Yuz 18	"Ukrainian Kitchen" magnet		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	pur/other	sym

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	Sample Plane I	**Sample Plane II**	**Object Code**	**Object Description**	**Traditional Genre**	**Emic/ Etic**	**Type of Art**	**Geographical Origin**	**Function**	**Means of Acquisition**	**Meaning**
410	Est	Act	Yuz 19	"Shumka" magnet		etic	misc	non-ukr	displ	pur/other	ev/show
411	Est	Act	Yuz 20	Miniature decal ceramic iron		etic	nov	non-ukr	dec	inherit//mother	p/mother//exper